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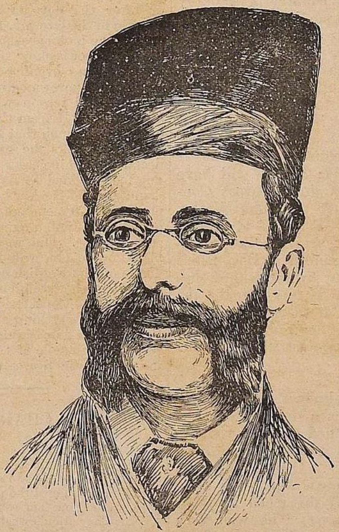
THE CONGRESS OF 1890.

THE PRESIDENT: WHO HE IS, WHAT HE HAS DONE.

We have much pleasure in placing a portrait of the President of the Congress before our readers. The portrait was sketched by Mr. R. W. Allan, Mr. Caine's travelling correspondent. We are enabled, by the courtesy of the editor of the *Pall Mall Budget*, to reproduce it in these columns. With it we lay before our readers an interesting sketch of the President's life, prepared for the *Manchester Guardian* by an ex-Indian journalist. The writer says:—



Mr. Pherozshah Merwanjee Mehta, the President of the National Congress, is the son of a Parsee merchant of literary tastes, and is about forty-seven years of age. As a student of the well-known Elphinstone College, in Bombay, he was distinguished for his cleverness, being a favourite pupil of the late Sir Alexander Grant. Mr. Pherozshah obtained his M.A. degree in 1864, and shortly afterwards arrived in England to study for the Bar. I believe that he was almost the first native of Western India to come to this country to prepare for the legal profession. The number of Hindu, Muhammadan, and Parsee youths who have since followed his example must be very large. He was fortunate enough to secure one of three valuable law studentships endowed by a wealthy member of the celebrated Jeejeebhoy family, of Bombay. Another holder of this coveted studentship was Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, who presided over the first of the series of National Congresses, and whose career in Calcutta has been equally successful. On his arrival in London from the East, young Mr. Pherozshah was placed under the care of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (Lord Salisbury's "black man"), then a merchant in the City of London. Mr. Pherozshah during his three or four years' stay here had the advantage of residing in the house of the Professor of Literature at University College. After being enrolled as a barrister-at-law Mr. Pherozshah returned to India, and in a short time established a reputation in the courts of his native city, as well as in those of the Mofussil. On the formation by Mr. Dahabhai Naoroji of a branch of the East India Association, Mr. Pherozshah was induced to become the honorary secretary, and from that time he has taken a prominent part in all movements, political or social, for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen. He was one of the honorary secretaries of the remarkable and unique demonstration in honour of the Marquis of Ripon upon his Lordship's departure from India. Some years ago Mr. Pherozshah filled the office of President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation—the best managed body of the kind in the East—in a manner that gained the commendation of all classes, English and Indian. Lord Reay during his Governorship conferred upon Mr. Pherozshah a seat in the Bombay Legislative Council, an appointment, needless to say, immensely popular with the party of reform. Mr. Pherozshah is a Fellow of Bombay University, in the affairs of which he exhibits a keen interest. He is not, I understand, *persona grata* with the majority of Anglo-Indians—a man possessing his independent, not to say aggressive, views could hardly expect to be—but his own people are very proud of him. Their admiration is not undeserved, for in many respects he is an ornament of the small but influential Zoroastrian community. As an advocate he stands in the front rank, and as a platform speaker he would bear comparison with the best of our parliamentary orators.

Mr. Pherozshah has been from the origin of the National Congress one of the leading spirits of that interesting organization. He was co-secretary of the first Congress, and last winter, as chairman of the Reception Committee, it fell to his lot to welcome the eighteen hundred or more delegates to Bombay. In the course of an eloquent speech, he said:

"I well remember the day, this time four years ago, when, anxiously but hopefully, we launched the Congress on its enterprise, not of supplanting the existing rulers of the country, but of supplementing the endeavours of the best and most sagacious among them by proposing modifications and developments based on our peculiar and native knowledge and information, and suggested, gratefully, by that enlightenment and education which is one of the most precious gifts bestowed upon us by British rule."

Even the indirect gains of the Congress, he argued, had not been inconsiderable:

"It has brought vividly into clear and emphatic recognition that most important fact of the growth of the national idea amongst us. Despite social and religious differences, we have all begun earnestly to realize that we are fairly on the way to a common national existence, united and bound together by the common political ties of an equal, impartial, and enlightened rule, just as the United States have raised up the American nation on the basis of an infinite deversity of races and creeds. When we call the Congress national we give expression to this nationalising tendency which is now so powerfully leavening New India. Instead of being jealously resented and angrily denounced, this free and frank acknowledgment of the grandest outcome of British rule ought to be welcomed as a sure token of our national and discerning loyalty—at least by those who are always so mightily distressed that we do not set up a perpetual hallelujah in praise of it, in season and out of season."

He claimed that the labours of the Congress had contributed to do that which was a necessary prelude to all reform, a thorough sifting and searching of some of the most vital of Indian political reforms:

"Nothing that passion, or prejudice, or malice could urge has been left unsaid. And now that the proposals of the Congress have bravely stood the test, our opponents have recourse to the familiar device which is so often employed to cover retreat, and they are lost in wonder that we are making so much fuss about things which have nothing new in them, and which have been long contemplated by many an Anglo-Indian statesman at the head of affairs. Now, gentlemen, we are quite ready at once to plead guilty to this not very dreadful impeachment. But though it may not be said of these statesmen what was once said of the anti-Reform party in England, and can certainly be said of some Anglo-Indians, that they never have anything kind or generous to say of the Indian people, this may surely be said of them—that, though they do sometimes have something generous to say of the Indians, they have never shown the slightest disposition to confer upon them any portion of political rights. If the Congress has done nothing more than quicken into action these political *yogis*, so long lost in contemplation, it will not have laboured in vain."

Referring to the charge of sedition and disloyalty brought against the Congress, Mr. Pherozshah observed:

"It was a cry well calculated to create alarm and uneasiness even among persons otherwise well disposed towards us. The Congress has, however, met the charge firmly and boldly by a steadfast appeal to the authoritative record of our words, thoughts, and deeds, and to the personalities of the members composing it year after year. It was conclusively shown that the charge was founded on calumnies, lies, and misrepresentations. . . . . Never (added the speaker) was a greater truth uttered than that to which our esteemed friend Mr. Caine gave utterance, that we of the Congress are more loyal than Anglo-Indians themselves. If by loyalty is meant a keen solicitude for the safety and permanency of the Empire, in which we are firmly persuaded he implanted the roots of the welfare, the prosperity, and the good government of the country, then we are certainly more loyal than Anglo-Indians, who do not hesitate frequently to subordinate the interests of that safety and that permanence to the seductions of conquest and vainglory, or to the immediate gains and temptations of commercial enterprise."

NOTES.

The *Methodist Recorder*, on the strength of representations made by a recent visitor to China, draws a melancholy picture. Ruin is alleged to be falling on that country as the result of the opium traffic and opium consumption for which England, in the supposed interests of the Indian revenue, is responsible. Our contemporary remarks:—"So far as China is concerned, the power of England to remedy the mischief wrought by a long course of unrighteous dealing with that unhappy country is probably gone for ever. The greatest statesman that China now possesses declares that if the present rate of demoralisation by opium continues for another half-century, there will be no China to save. From the palace in Pekin to the meanest hut the nation must fall into the ruin of utter rottenness." The *Recorder* proceeds to speak plainly to the Christian churches. It says that if their concern for India, Ceylon, and Burma, which also are in peril, is not "the veriest cant" the Christian churches must bestir themselves in good earnest, and adds: "They will have an opportunity of doing so next March. A great Convention is to be held immediately after the John Wesley Centenary services. The Society of Friends—always to the front when peace and righteousness are in peril—have generously placed their large premises at Devonshire House—three minutes' walk from our own mission-house—at the disposal of the committee. Prayer is to be the strong feature of the Convention. But there will also be meetings for consultation, and at least one public meeting, from which it is hoped an emphatic protest will reach the Government."

The Rev. E. G. Gange, a well-known and popular Baptist minister in Bristol, who has a daughter in the Zenana mission, has recently returned from a visit to India. He did not, as so many travellers do, spend most of his time in the company of officials. Consequently, he does not return with the orthodox ideas about our rule. On the contrary, he has been greatly disturbed by what he has seen. "Everywhere," he says, "he was very much struck with the absence of women. But go where one would one saw millions of men—swarthy, haggard, crushed, spiritless, men. The profound salaams to Sahib distressed him." He pointed out the wretched condition of servants—not those of the missionaries—but of servants generally speaking, and said that there was something radically wrong when they had crushed the manhood out of a nation. This remark was applauded, as also was the exhortation: "Let England take care she governed India for India's good. They enriched the sons of the aristocracy by appointments to high posts in India: let them take care they did not injure the people they governed. He did not understand the question, but he thought that people who paid taxes ought to have a voice in their own government."

Miss Orme, referring to a paragraph published in No. 14 of INDIA, from a Devonshire Tory paper, respecting an address on Indian topics given at Torquay by Lady Hayter, writes:—"I was present at the meeting, and I never saw a more gross misrepresentation. Lady Hayter said that although so much had to be done in India in the way of reform, etc., yet most people agreed that the English had done good. She expressed the usual opinion that we always hear from such men as Mr. Manomohun Ghose about the good effects of European education, etc.; but in Ireland she said the English colony had injured the people, lowered the standard of conduct, and so forth. It was not a comparison of institutions at all."

HOUSE OF COMMONS CONTROL OVER INDIAN FINANCE.

HOW MEMBERS MAY BE MADE TO INTEREST THEMSELVES IN SUCH MATTERS.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* has recently published some valuable comments on Indian affairs. We quote two paragraphs in which a most-needed reform in House of Commons procedure is advocated. The *Gazette* says:—

"The National Congress in Calcutta did quite right to adopt a petition in favour of the earlier consideration by the House of Commons of the Indian Budget; but we are not hopeful that the prayer will be granted, or that if it were acceded to, much good would ensue. Our Indian fellow-subjects, together with some good people nearer home, seem to think that the beggarly array of empty benches with which we are now so familiar is due to the postponement of the discussion until the closing days of the Session. Ten or eleven years ago, when the present Secretary of State for War held the office now filled by Sir John Gorst, the Indian Budget was introduced quite early—in the month of May. Was the House crowded with members anxious to show their interest in the affairs of England's vast dominions in the East? Not at all. The appearance of the Legislative Chamber was pretty much what it was on the 14th of August last, and what it will be when Sir J. Gorst, or whoever is then Under Secretary for India, makes his annual statement during or after the dog days of 1891. On the occasion to which we allude the late Mr. Fawcett was interrupted in the middle of one of the best speeches on India he ever delivered by a count, and the records show that the debate was continued throughout the following evening in 'an almost empty House—at times only two or three members being present.'

"The real reason why the average member of Parliament absents himself from the House when the Indian Budget comes on is not so much that he is indifferent, as Ministers say, or because he thinks the subject intolerably dull, as certain critics declare. In nine cases out of ten he stays away because he does not feel inclined to listen to or take part in a mere academical disputation. He knows that the House of Commons, if every one of its 670 members talks until Doomsday, has not the power of reducing Indian expenditure to the extent of a single depreciated rupee. One way of enlisting the sympathies of Parliament and people, would be to put some of India's home expenditure on the English estimates, a reform approved, we believe, by two such dissimilar men as Mr. J. M. Maclean and Mr. Bradlaugh. Considering that the Colonial Office does not cost the colonies anything at all, is it, to say the least, quite fair that the far from flourishing Indian taxpayer should be required to pay for the whole of the salaries of the India Office establishment, from the Secretary of State down to the charwoman?"

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

A manly life was his—one noble fight
To shield the poor, the weak, from pampered might;
To show the world the hidden sins of those
Who judged the poor and thought not of their woes;
And how they robbed, beneath the guise of "birth,"
The nation's wealth—the toilers of the earth.
He dared the strong, no slavish courtier he;
If wrong was done, the world he soon let see
The doer's hand, though it to prince belonged—
He thought but of the ones that hand had wronged.
And so through life he wavered not to speak
In bitter scorn of those who robbed the weak
Or crushed the poor—until his very foes
Gave him respect; while working men and those
Who knew his worth, loved him, and long will mourn
That Death from them another friend hath torn.

—*People's Press.* FRED. E. MANNING.

THE BRITISH RULE OF INDIA.

MR. LECKY'S IDEA OF A "COMPLETE SUCCESS".

Mr. Lecky concludes his Irish history by instituting a comparison between the British rule of India and our control of Ireland. He speaks of "the complete success with which England has governed her great Eastern Empire". The *Times* quotes the paragraph in which this statement is made, and supposes Mr. Lecky knew what he was about in making the assertion. If that gentleman knows no more of Ireland than it is clear he does of India, the Unionist's history is not of much value. "Complete success," says Mr. Lecky. Let us see in the light of unchallengeable facts what the "complete success" has been like.

1. A mutiny of a terrible character occurred in 1857, brought about (says the historian of the Mutiny, the Tory Colonel Malleson) by bad faith. "The real cause of the Mutiny may be expressed in a condensed form, in two words—bad faith."

2. More than fifteen millions of people, according to official admission, have died of starvation during this century. Sir John Gorst has asserted that the present administration have had, through their good management, no great famines: consequently, when they occur, famines are the result of bad administration. As, indeed, they are to a large extent.

3. In this present year, as "Home Charges", nearly every rupee received for the rent of the land is expended in this country. This is as if the rent of all Europe, with the exception of Russia, were spent, say, in America. India is being bled to death by the principles on which our rule is conducted.

4. After more than one hundred years' rule of the Indian people, we have not put one man among them all in a single administrative position of any value or influence. All the time it is acknowledged that the most splendid material for service exists in almost every part of the Empire.

5. We have made life more burdensome. For example, salt—to a vegetarian people an absolute necessity of life—is, in most parts of India, now five times as costly as it was at the beginning of this century. There is a clear connection—the connection of cause and effect—between the increased costliness of salt and the wide prevalence of leprosy in India.

6. We have made very fair promises to the people, but we have not kept them. Lord Lytton (another Tory) says of the provisions of one Act of the Imperial legislature which, in spite of many protests, was for ten years allowed to remain a dead letter: "We have had to choose between prohibiting them" [the Indian people from occupying certain positions promised to them] "and *cheating* them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course".

7. This year we are spending, of Indian money in this country on "Non-Effective Charges," more than fifty-three millions of rupees. Every year the expenditure on this account increases. Eighteen rupees is the average yearly income of a family in some parts of India.

8. We deliberately sacrificed Indian revenues, which were not protective, for Lancashire's benefit, and have destroyed the indigenous manufactures of the country.

9. Our treatment of our feudatories has been marked by most cruel injustice—injustice not righted nor even judicially or otherwise impartially inquired into, because the Government itself is prosecutor, judge, and executioner.

10. We continue in India that association of the judicial and executive functions in one and the same person which, in the case of Mr. Shannon and his brethren, has been providing in Ireland so remarkable an "object lesson" for the nations.

11. We abolished the village communities and tribunals (Panchayats), erecting in their place a system of law courts whereby in many cases justice is partially denied to the poor villager or rendered so costly that he is ruined in trying to get it.

12. We have put so high a price on stamps for legal proceedings that, after paying enormous salaries to our judges, a large surplus remains. That is to say, we even tax justice.

13. We broke up a system of local self-government suited to the needs, and sanctified by the experience, of the people, and only within the past few years have tardily provided similar institutions.

14. Under the mistaken idea that India was a rich country and the people more than fairly well-to-do, we have established a system of administration which is by very far, estimated according to the wealth of the people, the costliest in the world.

15. Owing to various circumstances, notably the vastness of the country, our comparative want of knowledge, and the impossibility (being foreigners) of our ever getting a real acquaintance with what is going on from day to day in the various districts, we (1) either fail to realise the exact state of affairs or (2) we misread the facts we possess. (1) The Famine Commissioners assert it was only after the sufferers had died that, "in many districts", the officials knew there was any serious pressure upon the people. (2) The Select Committee of the House of Commons and the India Office between them actually produced a Report urging Railway construction because, they said, such works were "likely to protect the country against famine". That railways answer this end has nowhere been proved. Careful search through the Blue Book, of 920 pages, giving report, evidence, appendix, nowhere shows that Railways were proved to be works which "protect the country against famine". No questions were asked, no information vouchsafed, throughout the whole enquiry, indicating that railways had proved themselves famine protectors. The fact, from beginning to end, was *assumed*, and *assumed* under circumstances far from creditable to the India Office, seeing that that Office all the time had evidence in its possession proving that railways had failed to "protect" the country against famine. Sir George Campbell and Mr. Slagg, with one or two other members of the Committee, once or twice, in questions which they asked, came near to the matter. But they merely touched with their finger-tips what was really the crux of the enquiry.

A Blue Book, issued at the end of February, 1885, shows that, taking this century, and giving from 1800 to 1860 as a Pre-Railway era (though railways were begun in 1848), there were thirteen famines in those years, and a probable loss of life of 4,000,000 to 5,000,000. Wars during that era had a large share in causing the distress which culminated in famine. During the Railway era, beginning with 1861 and going on to 1878, there were in seventeen years sixteen famines, with a life-loss of 12,821,420. It was further shown that, in *districts in which there are railways*, a fourth of the population died from famine and famine-occasioned disease in two years, and the cultivated area decreased by one quarter.

16. In the year before last, in a corner of the Madras Presidency, twenty thousand people perished from starvation. But for pressure exerted through the House of Commons by the late Mr. Bradlaugh, the attention of the Madras authorities being thereby drawn to the awful life-loss proceeding, the twenty thousand famished dead would, probably, have become one hundred thousand.

17. As the result of our rule a population more than twice that of Great Britain is in a condition, under normal circumstances, of semi-starvation.

18. "I do not hesitate to say", writes Sir C. A. Elliott, K.C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of Assam, "that half our agricultural population never know, from year's end to year's end, what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." "The remaining fifth, or forty millions, go through life on insufficient food."—Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.

19. The general condition of the inhabitants of the Native-Indian States is superior to that of the dwellers in British Provinces. In Appendix I. to the Report of the Famine Commission appears, in the shape of a "Note on the Economic Condition of the Agricultural Population of India," a searching analysis of the evidence taken by the Commission. In Hyderabad, as compared with the North-Western Provinces, it would appear that a farm of fifty acres produces two-fifths more of crop; the tenant in the Indian State expends three times and a-half as much on hired labour and other outlay, the tax on his land is thirty-seven per cent. less, on domestic expenses he spends nearly twenty rupees more; and, at the end of the year, has Rs. 226 in hand against Rs. 41, that is, five hundred and fifty per cent. more! Recent publications show that there is no margin at all in many parts of British India.

Many more facts of a similar kind might be cited. These, however, will serve to show the utter valuelessness of Mr. Lecky's comparison. India a "complete success"! Why, it is as great a failure as Ireland. If India were as near to England as is Ireland, the condition of its

people, and the continual "bad faith" of its rulers would make it as much more prominent an object in English public affairs as its population of two hundred millions is greater than the five millions of inhabitants of Ireland. So far as the happiness and prosperity of the people are concerned our rule in India has not been even a modified success. To talk of "complete success" is to talk foolishly.

ENGLISH LIBERALISM AND INDIAN REFORM.

The Liberals of the city of Norwich have heartily taken up the cause of Indian reform. Mr. J. J. Colman is one of the members for the city; Mr. F. W. Verney, son of the venerable Sir Harry Verney and nephew of the good Florence Nightingale, is the Liberal candidate, and will, in all probability, be Mr. Colman's colleague after the next general election: Norwich, like Northampton, Newcastle, Plymouth, Southampton, and a few other places, returns two members. Mr. Verney's interest in India is great. He requested Sir W. Wedderburn to go to Norwich and give an address on India. Sir William consented, and on the 26th of January had for audience the pick of the Liberal party in the constituency. A more attentive, interested, and appreciative audience no man could wish for. Mr. Verney presided, and, in the course of his opening address, said:—

Looking forward, and not backward, the question for Englishmen to-day was: How are we to govern this vast continent which has come to us as a heritage from the past? (Hear, hear.) In one sense the conquest of India remained to be won. We had the land, the men, and the money too; had we got the hearts of the people? If we had got them, how could we keep them? Those were questions which must be answered. Though few in this country could enter into the details of Indian administration, or appreciate all the interests of the Indian subjects, there was one thing they must undertake. That was the responsibility of government in the future. The responsibility of Indian government rested on the English nation, and there it would ever remain. If the natives of India asked the English people to allow them to share some of that responsibility the responsibility of England was increased tenfold if a refusal were given to requests which were right and legitimate, and which would do something to consolidate that great empire and make it more truly our own. (Cheers.) Many of the Indians had been showing signs of a growing discontent. The notion that the moment they secured a little power they would attempt to throw off English dominion—as some would have us believe—was an utter mistake. But they were not content any longer to pay enormously in the shape of taxes, and to have no voice as to the manner in which those taxes were applied. (Hear, hear.) That seemed a noble form of discontent; it was the kind of discontent which our English forefathers had expressed. Had it not been for that discontent in years gone by England and Englishmen would occupy a very different position to-day. (Hear, hear.) Englishmen went to India, offered the people education, tried to improve them, and established schools where the English language was taught. In fact, to-day natives of the highest culture came from India and explained their own grievances in cogent and eloquent language. Yet some of us were ready to turn round and say, "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be." (Laughter.) That was not the language of the best friends of India. At any rate, Englishmen ought to be able to answer the questions which the Indians put, and to meet the demands they made, and, at least to give them a reason, whether their requests were refused or granted. (Hear, hear.) He hoped most sincerely that, whatever was done in Parliament, an effort would be made to secure a fair expression of the will and wishes of the natives of India who were now appealing to be helped into the paths of constitutional and representative government. There were, of course, many different opinions as to how such measures were best to be introduced, as to how far representative government could be given to the natives, and what steps should be taken to make constitutional government successful. It would be imprudent to give to the Indians any such wholesale and full-blown government without going through the preliminary steps which paved the way in this country. Enquiry into their demands would not shock us by any outrageous proposition, but would rather astonish us by their moderation. (Hear, hear.)

Sir William Wedderburn then delivered a most earnest and telling address, greatly interesting his hearers. At the close Mr. Colman, M.P., said, in 1873 he met two Indian gentlemen who were in Norwich in connection with the social science meetings. They deeply impressed upon his mind at the time that it was a great anomaly for men of their stamp, ability, and integrity to have no voice in their country's affairs. This conviction had been confirmed since then by having met other gentlemen who had lived in India, and by the address of Sir William Wedderburn that night. (Applause.) There were two practical observations arising out of that meeting. The other member for Norwich was at the present time in India, and when he returned to England they as Liberals could feel quite equal to the Conservatives, when Mr. Hoare instructed his supporters in Indian affairs, because they had heard the account of our government there from the lips of one who had spent nearly a quarter of a century in an administrative capacity in India. (Applause.) The second observation was to do all that they could to return Mr. Verney to Parliament, so that when Sir William Wedderburn, representing the constituency for which he was at present a candidate, spoke on Indian affairs, Norwich might be sure of having representatives to take an interest in and support his proposals. He had great pleasure in moving a cordial vote of thanks to Sir William and Mr. Verney.

OUR LATEST CONGRESS:
THE LAST STRAW.

We have met and talked and parted,
Told our plans, our hopes, and fears,
Ever trusting—ne'er disheartened—
To the hopes of coming years,
Hopes alas! ere founded, shattered,
Phantom castles in the air,
List! our Congress dreams are scattered—
No officials present there!

We have smiled at snubs unnumbered,
Gibes and insults, scorning both
Dullard wit, red tape encumbered,
Sneer official, party, oath:
Braved the storm that's ever greeting
Who dares Freedom's path ascend,
All in vain: at our last meeting
No officials did attend.

We had dreamed, alas! poor mortals,
Ever gaining ground our cause,
All but entered were the portals
Of attainment; *now*, we pause,
Pause to falter ere retreating,
Nought to lighten dark despair,
Wise and great spoke at our meeting—
No official listened there!

Ah! 'tis bitter looking backward
On our battles fought and won,
Bitter still when looking forward
To the fruits of labour—*none*.
Deemed our cause, oh! vain delusion,
Of official rancour rid,
Yet to hear us—dire confusion!—
All officials were forbid!

Pique or spite—'tis but amusing,
Jack in office seldom shows
Tact or temper—e'er confusing
Present friends with future foes:
High officialism guide us,
Nor to scorn our humble prayer,
Answer, Ruling Powers, nor chide us,
Why were no officials there?

Why?—who'd question?—sure no sages,
Thinkers, students of the past,
Reading Might's self-damning pages,
Right opposing first to last.
These well knowing, ne'er bemoaning
Dull officialdom's decree,
Tuned to Custom's nightmare groaning
"Hush! the bogie—Liberty!"

For *ourselves*—it were a matter
Nor of moment, nor regret,
Whose the presence that could flatter,
Utterance modified beget?
But for India's millions pleading.
To the speakers, just and fair,
We had hoped—the truth yet heeding—
Some officials listened there.

When the storm of Freedom's battle—
Fought and won—brings lasting peace,
When the din of party prattle
And the racial struggle cease,
On the field of fight, nor gory,
May the muster roll declare—
Page to honour India's story—
All officials mustered there.

WILLIAM E. IMESON.

GOLD AND SILVER IMPORTS INTO INDIA.

THE FALLACY THAT THEY PROVE THE PROSPERITY OF INDIA.

In dealing with the Open Letter addressed to Members of Parliament published in the last number of India several influential newspapers have declined to accept the chief contention, urging that the imports of the precious metals into India was proof of accumulating wealth. It is singular how this opinion, which is a pure delusion, is held in official circles. When Lord Ripon left India, one of the usual reports drawn up at the close of each Viceroy's career—that from the Finance Department—concluded with a statement as to the "remarkable phenomenon, and one which testifies to the great prosperity of India from 1880-81 to 1884-85", namely, "the large quantity of silver and gold which the country has absorbed in these years". The imports are then given, and it is remarked: "That large import of gold is by itself conclusive as regards the accumulation of wealth, since gold is not used to any appreciable extent for coinage in India, and is required simply for ornament or as a convenient means of hoarding". The utter untrustworthiness of this dogmatic opinion will be found demonstrated in a letter which Mr. Digby addressed to the *Manchester Guardian*, and which appeared in that paper on the 24th ultimo. It is as follows, being dated January 21st.:

In your editorial notice yesterday of my "open letter" to members of the House of Commons respecting the distressful condition of India you refer to the imports of treasure into India, and regard them as affecting, and in some respects throwing doubts upon, my argument. You say: "These imports are surely evidence of accumulating wealth. Will Mr. Digby say why this accumulation of gold and silver is going on, as it has done for centuries past, in spite of all difficulties, and why it is not good evidence of increasing wealth?" With your permission, and by favour of your courtesy, I will answer your questions.

1. I demur to the statement that India has, unremittingly, been importing treasure for centuries past. Prior to British rule, when India on her own account was carrying on a good deal of trade with neighbouring nations in Asia, she required and received a certain quantity of gold and silver, not producing either, needing both for commercial purposes and for ornamental and luxurious uses, being then wealthy enough to indulge in luxuries. But in the early years of British rule India was depleted of its precious metals to such an extent as to "greatly diminish in quantity . . . . the current specie of the country" (Minute of 1787, by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, Governor-General of India). It will be admitted that some gold and silver was required to restore the equilibrium which our exploitations of those days disturbed. 2. Of course I do not deny that there has been some accumulation of the precious metals in India, but I do most confidently assert that, with the condition of things which exists in that country, such accumulation is not "evidence of increasing wealth". At the same time the amount of the treasure in question is infinitesimally small when regarded in the light of the enormous population who receive it. 3. I did not deal with the question you raise because Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his "Poverty of India" (pp. 241-5, collected works) had considered and commented upon it very thoroughly up to 1869. In his *Contemporary Review* articles, 1887, he carried the matter to 1884. I will refer to these articles later. Mr. Naoroji has pointed out, very truly, that India does not receive its imports of the precious metals as so much profit on its exports, or to make up a deficiency of imports against exports. As Lord Salisbury so excellently put it, in the same Minute as that in which he cynically declared "India must be bled," "much of the revenue of India is expended without a direct equivalent." Even after the gold and silver to which you allude has been received in India there is still a huge annual balance against that country on every year's trade; in 1889-90 the amount was Rx. 23,492,000. Again, it must not be forgotten that the British introduced into India the system of the payment of revenue in cash. Our predecessors were content to take their toll in kind. It will at once be seen that this innovation alone would call for a large supply of silver with which to meet the newly created demand.

Before specifically answering your question as to why the import of gold and silver into India is not evidence of increasing wealth, let us see what this import actually amounts to. The India Office obligingly furnishes me with statistical information, from which I find that from 1835-6 to 1887-8, both years inclusive, the imports of gold and silver have been respectively as follow:—

Imports of the Precious Metals into India, 1835-6 to 1887-8.

Gold.	Silver.
Rx. 137,616,335.	Rx. 292,684,055.

In each case I am allowing for export, and am only taking the net amounts. The total amount imported was Rx. 430,300,390. During the period under consideration the Indian mints have coined—gold, Rx. 3,127,571; silver, Rx. 204,944,000; total, Rx. 208,071,571. To this amount must be added the coinage of the feudatory States, whose export trade is at least—probably it is more than—one-fifth of the whole trade of India. Say one-twentieth only of the amount coined in British India has been coined by the feudatory States, viz, about Rx. 10,400,000. This leaves, out of the total of Rx. 430,300,390 imported after coinage has been provided for, the sum of Rx. 211,828,819. This looks a formidable amount, but when clearly examined its great proportions vanish.

	Rx.
The British Indian mints have coined in 53 years .	208,071,571
The Feudatory States have minted, say	10,400,000
	218,471,571
From this must be deducted, to replace wear and tear, estimated before a Committee of the House of Commons at Rx. 1,000,000 a year	53,000,000
Leaving	165,471,571

In his calculations from 1801 to 1869, Mr. Naoroji suggested, but did not allow for, a loss of one million a year, thus: "Is it too much to assume in the very widespread and minute distribution, over a vast surface and vast population, of small trinkets or ornaments of silver, and their rough use, another million may be required to supply waste and loss. If only a pennyworth per head per annum be so wanted, it would make a million sterling". I will leave that out of the question (though, perhaps, I ought not) and will deal with the Rx.211,828,819 as though the amount were in a handy form for general distribution. I assume (as I am well justified in doing by the figures on p. 300 of the twenty-fourth number of the "Statistical Abstract for British India"; indeed, I might take a larger number) that the population in British India has averaged during the fifty-three years under consideration 180,000,000. The treasure over and above coinage received in India during these years, if divided amongst this population would amount to £1 3s. 6¾d. per head. Divide this sum by the 53 years during which this treasure has been imported, and it comes to the magnificent sum of 5½d. per head per annum! But, stay. It is not so much as that. The feudatory States are greedy absorbers of the precious metals. The people in them are more prosperous than are those in the British provinces; their share in the export trade of the Empire, as has been stated, is one-fifth of the whole at least. It is putting the matter at a low estimate to suppose they receive only one-fifth of the gold and silver imported; grant them, however, that fifth, and then in British India there remains, if all this sum could be divided, about 4¼d. per head per annum! That there is much treasure in the feudatory States is clear from the hoards of the late Maharajah of Indore, forty million rupees after his death being invested in Government of India securities. Then of another State it is declared that in certain forts are treasure vaults containing from 300 to 400 million rupees' worth of gold and silver. British India gets no benefit from these hoards. It is extremely doubtful if there are any large hoards in the British provinces. Further, Mr. Naoroji, in his unanswered and unanswerable reply to Sir M. E. Grant-Duff in the *Contemporary Review* for August-October, 1887, says:

"Next, how much goes to the native States and the frontier territories? Here are a few significant official figures as an indication. 'The Report of the External Land Trade and Railway-borne Trade of the Bombay Presidency for 1884-5', (page 2) says of Rajputana and Central India: 'The imports from the external blocks being greater than the exports to them, the balance of trade due by the Presidency to the other provinces amounts to Rs.12,01,05,912, as appears from the above table and the following.' I take the native States from the table referred to—

Excess of Imports in Bombay Presidency.

	Rs.
From Rajputana and Central India	5,55,46,753
From Berar	1,48,91,355
From Hyderabad	8,67,688
Total	7,13,05,796

or £7,130,579. This means that these native States have exported so much more merchandise than they have imported. Thereupon, the report remarks thus: 'The greatest balance is in favour of Rajputana and Central India, caused by the import of opium from that block. Next to it is that of the Central Provinces. It is presumed that these balances are paid back *mainly in cash*'. (The italics are mine.) This, then, is the way the treasure goes; and poor British India gets all the abuse—insult added to injury. Its candle burns not only at both ends, but at all parts. The excessive foreign agency eats up in India, and drains away out of India, a portion of its wretched income, thereby weakening and exhausting it every year drop by drop, though not very perceptibly, and lessening its productive power or capability. It has poor capital and cannot increase it much. Foreign capital does nearly all the work and carries away all the profit. Foreign capitalists from Europe and from native States make profits from the resources

of British India, and take away these profits to their own countries. The share that the mass of the natives of British India have is to drudge and slave on scanty subsistence for these foreign capitalists; not as slaves in America did, on the resources of the country and land belonging to the masters themselves, but on the resources of their own country, for the benefit of foreign capitalists. I may illustrate this a little. Bombay is considered a wealthy place, and has a large capital circulating in it, to carry on all its wants as a great port. Whose capital is this? Mostly that of foreigners. The capital of the European exchange banks and European merchants is mostly foreign, and most of the native capital is foreign also, *i.e.*, that of the native bankers and merchants from the native States. Nearly £6,000,000 of the capital working in Bombay belongs to native bankers from the native States. Besides a large portion of the wealthy merchants, though more or less settled in Bombay, are from native States."

Still, if other things were equal, if the imported treasure represented a real surplus over the balance of imports and exports, and the reasonable profits arising therefrom, British India in course of time would lay by something. But it must be remembered, in addition to all that has been urged, a much larger amount of coin is required in proportion to the volume of trade in India than is the case in England. This is owing to the defective system of credit which is referred to in one of the extracts I take from the Sarvajanik Sabha's able pamphlet in my "Open Letter". The Government Treasuries keep a standing balance of about one hundred and thirty-three million rupees. In 1888-9 the Indian import and export trade of Rx.150,000,000 (with, of course, the internal traffic, which is not shown) required over one hundred million rupees in coin kept as reserve, Government securities amounting to sixty millions more, and sixteen and a half millions of notes, with nearly one hundred and eighty million rupees in Government Treasuries in India and on current account in England against, for the trade of the United Kingdom under similar circumstances, £20,000,000 in bullion, £36,000,000 in securities, and £41,000,000 in notes, or a total of less than £100,000,000 for a trade (not reckoning internal trade) of £742,000,000. This may be better shown in the following comparative statement:

	British India.		United Kingdom.
Notes	Rx. 16,500,000	..	£41,000,000
Bullion	10,000,000	..	20,000,000
Securities	6,000,000	..	36,000,000
Balance in Government Treasuries (cash) ..	13,305,000	..	——
Balance in England, 1880, (pounds sterling) ..	3,250,000	..	——
Totals	Rx. 49,055,000 (Say Rx. 50,000,000.)	..	£97,000,000

Total Value of Indian Export and Import Trade.		Total Value of British Export and Import Trade.
Rx. 180,000,000	..	£742,000,000
Proportion, $3\frac{3}{5}$	..	Proportion, $7\frac{1}{2}$

There is no comparison between the enormous volume of the internal (the home) trade of the United Kingdom and that of India, the former being so much greater than the latter. This only heightens the significance of the above facts as against British India. It is clear, therefore, that much more coin is needed for circulation in India for commercial purposes than in England. This ought not to be, nor would be, if the Government did its duty.

The foregoing particulars explain what becomes of the precious metals which are imported into India. A large portion is wanted, and is used, for the ordinary purposes of trade. But, as to the portion left in the hands of the British Indian people, it is significant that the year of greatest import of gold and silver (greater even than, except in one year, during the American war, when Indian cotton was so greatly "boomed") was 1877-8, the years of the terrible famines in Madras, Bombay, and the North-West Provinces. Nobody will assert that the gold and silver imported then were a proof of the prosperity of the land. Mr. Naoroji in his "Poverty of India" (page 243, collected works) has aptly indicated this point in an illustration which I will borrow. He says:—

"The notion that the import of silver has made India rich is a strange delusion. There is one important circumstance which is not borne in mind. The silver imported is not for making up the balance of exports and profits over imports, or for what is called balance of trade. Far from it, as I have already explained. It is imported as a simple necessity, but it therefore does not make India richer because so much silver is imported. If I give out £20 worth of goods to anybody, and in return get £5 in other goods and £5 in silver, and yet if by so doing, though I have received only £10 worth in all for the £20 I have parted with, I am richer by £5, because I have received £5 in silver, then my richness will be very unenviable indeed. The phenomenon, in fact, has a delusive effect. Besides not giving due consideration to the above circumstances, the bewilderment of many people at what are called enormous imports of silver in India is like that of a child who, because it can itself be satisfied with a small piece of bread, wonders at a man eating a whole loaf, though the loaf may be but a very 'scanty subsistence' for the poor big man."

It is frequently forgotten that in dealing with British India one has to do with a population which represents one-seventh of the inhabitants of the globe. No doubt a few Indians have become rich, and are the better for the imported treasure—that is, have hoarded it or turned it into ornaments. They are, however, comparatively few. I doubt if they number as many as do the wealthy merchants and manufacturers of Lancashire. They certainly are not more in all India. As in England the millionaire and the pauper co-exist, so in India a small number of well-to-do folk are to found side by side with, probably, one hundred and fifty millions of struggling people, a number every year increasing and becoming more and more poor, half of whom do not receive a bare sustenance of food, to say nothing of sufficient and decent clothing, and leaving out of account anything which would give zest to life. Whatever the imports of treasures into India may mean, it most certainly does not fulfil the condition of "good evidence of increasing wealth." In England the suffering and struggling poor are few; in India they are the vast majority, the well-to-do being a small minority. The greater part of the Indian people live with hardly more pleasure than the lean and hungry cattle in their fields. I speak on the strength of unimpeachable evidence when I make these very strong remarks. Official facts, never published, alas! in this country, though put into print in India and marked "confidential," constitute my proof. Some of these "confidential" papers were last year given to Mr. Bradlaugh, one set coming (with the knowledge of the India Office) to the Indian Political Agency. In these and in other public documents, the significance of which has not been realised or understood, there is ample justification for more than all that I have said.

AN INDIAN ON INDIAN DEFENCE.

The spacious hall of the Cambridge Union was the other day a scene of considerable excitement. It being known that a deputation from Oxford was to take part in the debate, the house and the galleries were quite full long before the hour for the debate. The Union whips had also succeeded in bringing together all the best debaters, and Mr. Pilkington of Pembroke, an Indian civilian, was entrusted with the motion which was: "That the further advance of Russia on India should be treated by England as a *casus belli*". Mr. MacBride, Vice-President, who opposed, was followed by many other speakers, among them notably by Mr. Sing Gour, of Downing, an Indian gentleman, whose speech was universally credited to be the best of the evening. The *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Cambridge Review* have also pronounced it to be "all in all quite the best of the evening". Indeed, one of the ex-Presidents is said to have remarked after leaving it "that it *was* a famous victory", the motion having been rejected. We may, therefore, be permitted to give a brief *resumé* of the speech below: "Russia's advance towards India", contended Mr. Gour, "has been in the first place dictated by our own advance towards them. The hon. opener says that the Russians first advanced towards India in 1862. True, but we first advanced towards them in 1832, when Scinde was annexed and Afghanistan invaded. The Russians have only annexed small villages and towns, while we have annexed large countries and provinces—countries which were in days of yore centres of teeming Empires and commerce. Punjab, Kashmir, Beluchistan, Burmah, and may I add, Afghanistan, have been all annexed within the last fifty years. Shall we after this leonine share. chide the Russian Bear for its small peccadilloes. Arbitration? Yes, but what answer would you make to these charges? Two dogs quarrel, who is the most pious? Would it not be sheer madness on our part to have recourse to force, when we know full well the woful consequences which even a most righteous war brings in its train. And in case of defeat how sad would be our position—unpitiable and desperate." After a series of other arguments, the speaker contended that the best safeguard for India lies in its people. Govern them well and they will lay for you all golden eggs eternally. Indians know how to bleed for their homes, an army of such men is invincible. We require no more exorcisms but this against the Russians. The autocratic bureaucracy can never take root in India. "Justice and Mercy" are not words for the scholastic dialecticism. Apply them to practice, and verily ye shall have your reward. (Cheers.) "Our visitors from Oxford", the speaker later on remarked, "have given us enough of the classical eloquence for which our sister University is so justly famous, but let me give them an instance of the classical good sense. It was Cornelia who being asked by her neighbour how rich she was, smiled and said, pointing to her illustrious sons—the Gracchi, "'These are my riches'. Let every Briton fondly look up to India with the affection of the Roman matron, and woe be the day for the Russians, if they should ever think of invading India." The speaker then most admirably welcomed the visitors, which elicited frequent applause, and finally, when he sat down, "well-merited cheers crowned his speech."

MR. CAINE'S LETTERS FROM INDIA.

FROM time to time we propose to publish portions of the admirable letters which Mr. Caine is writing from India for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and a number of provincial journals. From Mr. Caine's third letter, we quote the following bright and animated description of two Congress election meetings held in Bombay and Madras respectively :—

I was glad to find that the District Congress Committee had taken the advantage of my visit to call the public meeting at which their delegates were to be elected to the sixth Indian National Congress meeting at Calcutta, December 26th. It is a frequent charge brought by Anglo-Indians against these district committees that the election of delegates is a hole-and-corner business, somewhat similar to what prevailed in vestry elections in London not so long so—that a few busybodies go through the farce of electing half-a-dozen of their own number who might happen to be willing to attend. I am glad to have the opportunity of describing one out of many elections of Congress delegates which I have attended in my various visits to India, and can assure your readers it is fairly representative of them all.

The meeting was convened by handbill, town-crier, and other methods peculiar to India, and was free to every male inhabitant. The great bazaar of the city, an open space in a wide street, about the size of Waterloo-place, was carpeted over, covered in with brightly-coloured awnings, and a spacious platform erected at the end, on which were seated the members of the local Congress committee. The vast area was filled with Indians, seated cross-legged on the ground, a sea of brilliant and vari-coloured turbans; the surrounding houses, windows, and roofs were crowded with spectators, large numbers of whom were women, the copings festooned with flowers and gay drapery; the whole scene bathed in the soft, warm light of the Deccan afterglow, mingled with countless lamps. I estimated the numbers present at over 6,000.

At 5.30 the Chairman of the Sholapur Congress Committee made a brief speech, explaining that the Central Committee, in consequence of the difficulty of accommodating the enormous number of representatives sent to Bombay last year, had limited the Congress in future to 1,000 representatives, allotted by population to certain centres, and that Sholapur's share was four. A leading citizen then moved the names which had been selected by committee for the forthcoming Congress, of whom I was one, and called for any amendment. None being forthcoming, we were all duly elected, and I am now in the proud position of senior member for Sholapur in the sixth Indian National Congress. Then followed the charming ceremony without which no public function in India is complete. A large tray containing huge garlands of flowers was produced, and the chairman placed one round the neck of each elected delegate, smaller ones on their wrists, and a sceptre of flowers for the hand. I was also presented with an illuminated address, in a handsome case of gold brocade, enclosed in a finely-carved sandal-wood and ivory box; rosewater was sprinkled on us all, and *pan* (betel leaf and areca nut) handed round. Many speeches were delivered, the whole proceedings being conducted in English. As the evening light faded out of the sky torches were lighted, and the proceedings were brought to a close with a display of fireworks. The delegates were then escorted round the city by a torchlight procession. The audience was not composed of the people of Sholapur only. There were some scores of those on and near the platform who represented local Congress committees within the Sholapur circle, many of whom had travelled fifty or sixty miles by road to be present.

This week I attended the election of delegates for the Coimbatore Circle, in the Madras Presidency, and presided over a similar meeting last night at Trichinopoly. Upwards of two thousand persons formed the audience at each place, all of whom thoroughly understood English, in which language alone the proceedings were conducted. Two years ago I saw similar gatherings at Agra, Lucknow, and other circles in Northern India, and I have no doubt that the thousand delegates from the two hundred circles into which India is divided for Congress purposes will represent the deliberate and personal choice of at least half a million of educated and influential Indians scattered throughout this vast Empire. The Coimbatore and Trichinopoly representatives must travel 4,800 miles, the Sholapur 3,600 miles, and I reckon that the thousand delegates outside Calcutta will travel each on an average 2,000 miles to be present at the Congress.

No one can move about amongst the English-speaking natives of India as I am doing just now, without being deeply impressed with their intense earnestness with regard to the Indian National Congress. They look upon it not merely as a deliberative assembly in which intelligent and cultured Indians may discuss and resolve upon questions affecting their common weal; they view it as the birthplace of representative government and free Western institutions, which they have been taught to value by the education they have received in their Anglo-vernacular high schools and colleges. They are familiar with English history, Political Economy, and English classics. Mill, Fawcett, Herbert Spencer, Harriet Martineau, and John Morley are household words with them. Their People's Associations foster political thought and aspirations, their youth crowd into the universities and colleges, and have their literary clubs and debating societies in every city. The thirst for higher education is unquenchable, and the sacrifice made by thousands of poor families to get their sons a B.A. degree is very pathetic. The measure of their earnestness may be found in the enormous increase in the entries in the three great Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Look at the growth of the last ten years :—

ONE YEAR'S CANDIDATES FOR ENTRANCE TO UNIVERSITY.

	1879-80.	1889-90.
Calcutta	1,906	4,802
Madras	3,300	7,327
Bombay	1,003	3,478
Total	6,209	15,607

I have not the figures by me for the newer universities of Allahabad and Lahore, but I have no doubt that during the next ten years the colleges and high schools of India will send at least 300,000 young students into the examination classes for university matriculation, every soul of them filled with ardent political aspirations, based upon the teaching of such writers as I have already quoted. In some future letter I will give you the contents of half-a-dozen native book shops, to let your readers know the sort of literature these young fellows buy. There is, alas, plenty of carrion sold, but I believe that most of them prefer wholesome and digestible meat.

Does the Government of India really believe they can go on turning out this increasing mass of educated youth, and continue to refuse them all share in the law-making and administration of their own country? If we had intended to keep India subject and servile, we should have kept her sons in Oriental ignorance, and not have stimulated them, by Western education, to the inevitable demand of Western democratic institutions.

In his fourth letter, dated Madras, December 10, 1890, Mr. Caine says :

During the last month or two the newspapers both at home and in India who make it their business to take up a hostile position to the Congress movement, have been saying that the movement is getting languid, that funds are falling off, and that the sixth Indian National Congress will probably be the last. For some reason I cannot explain, they have insisted that the Madras Presidency furnishes the most ample proofs of this. I wish they had been travelling with me through the Madras Presidency for the last fortnight, and seen the magnificent meetings which have been held at Bellary, Cuddapah, Conjeveram, Salem, Coimbatore, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Kumbaconam, towns from 30,000 to 100,000 population, to elect delegates. These various cities have vied with one another to give me such a welcome as shall at any rate dispel any illusion in my mind as to the luke-warmedness of Southern India. I visit these towns in a dual capacity—as the Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association on a tour of inspection of its Indian branches, and as a member of the Committee of the British branch of the Congress movement.

Each town vied with the other in trying to impress one with the appreciative gratitude of educated Indians to the members of the British Congress Committee, the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, and, indeed, to all Englishmen who show a practical interest in India's people. As I have said in previous letters, all the meetings I attend are conducted in English, and the speeches of the eloquent Indians are worthy of our best political platforms at home. I am more and more impressed, every day I am in India, with the deep roots the National Congress has struck into the social and political soil of the country, and the rapidly increasing number of those who are able and fit to take a practical interest in political life.

THE UPRISING OF THE YOUNG MEN.

The spread of European education in India is producing a public opinion everywhere, of which the Congress movement is no doubt the most conspicuous evidence, but which is rapidly eating its way into the caste system, and sapping the very foundations of Brahmanism. I have found that the public opinion of Southern India is practically moulded by the Congress Committee of Madras city, and takes its tone from such papers as the *Hindu*; the masses of the people throughout India look to the educated natives of what may be termed the "market towns" for guidance in their affairs, and these country towns in their turn look to Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. If the Government desire to keep in touch at all with native feeling everywhere, they must realize that the heart from which in future the thoughts and actions of the Indian people must ebb and flow is the university influence of the Presidency capitals. The leaders of this influence are comparatively young men fighting their way in life, and their followers consist of every man who has been to a high school or college for an *Anglo-*

vernacular education, and to the growing mass of youth who are still students. The average Congress meeting consists of a congregation of seven or eight hundred men in the body of the hall, 90 per cent. of whom are between 25 and 40 years old, and a crowd of lads in gallery and verandah from 12 to 20, who are keener and more interested auditors even than their seniors who have all the best places. Short-sighted Anglo-Indians have nothing but ridicule for these earnest and impassioned boys, who no doubt make fools of themselves now and then: but they forget that in all great national changes, the young are always the leaders, and wilfully blind themselves to the deep significance of the educational yeast which they have themselves put into the lump to leaven it. The bread is rising, and they refuse to bake it!

THE NEXT INDIAN MUTINY.

The Indian Civil servants are undoubtedly the ablest in the world; but they are isolated in outlying districts and provincial cities, associating mainly with natives who are their subordinates, and dependent upon their goodwill for promotion, and they appear as much in the dark with regard to the social and political revolution which is fermenting under their noses as their predecessors were of the great Mutiny. The few men whom I have met who realize the truth, who would like to avow it, and recognise and guide the coming social upheaval either depreciate its significance or fear the ostracism and suspicion that attaches to the Civil servant who associates with the real leaders of native thought. We have nothing to fear from this peaceful "mutiny" of educated India. Its foundation is laid on loyalty to Britain and to British over-rule, and its corner stone is inscribed with the name of the Queen-Empress. Cultured India knows well enough that only disaster can follow the abolition of English dominion. Only those who, like myself, have moved constantly among the natives and enjoy their confidence can form any idea of the horror with which any alternative is viewed by the people of India. They know that if we were to leave India to herself, without any guarantees for law and order, there are only two alternatives—a Russian invasion, or their conquest by the fierce clans of her own soil. In either case, all the advantages they have secured through English education and by British over-rule, which they value so dearly, would be inevitably lost. English politicians who see in the Congress movement danger to British over-rule in India are ignorant indeed of the commonest facts of Indian modern history.

THE PROTEST AGAINST BRAHMAN OVER-RULE.

No! it is not *British over-rule* that is becoming intolerable to educated India, but *Brahman over-rule*. There were 1,502 Hindu delegates to the Bombay Congress last year; of these 798 were Brahmans, or more than half. The total number of delegates were 1889, so that very nearly one half of the entire Congress, numerically, were Brahmans, and, as far as influence goes, they possessed fully two-thirds. But this Brahman predominance is singularly intensified if the representation of Bombay city is deducted, for out of the 200 Bombay delegates only twelve were Brahmans, leaving all the rest of India represented by 786 Brahmans to 893 delegates of every other Hindu caste—Mussulmans, Jains, Brahmos, and Christians.

A high Anglo-Indian official said to me the other day, "This Congress movement is nothing but a Brahman conspiracy; they find that education is sapping the caste system, and they have thrown themselves into this new development to maintain their supremacy over the people." There may possibly be some foundation in fact for his opinion, but I find that the Brahman Congressmen who have been my constant companions for the last two or three weeks are, in their hearts, very impatient of the constraints of orthodox Brahmanism, and if their caste leaders continue to refuse all relaxation of their rigid laws there will before long be a hiving-off of the younger men that may become a larger swarm than the mother-hive.

These educated Brahmans, trained under English schoolmasters and in European thought, want to see England. If they go, they are excommunicated, and have to suffer all the misery and degradation which is the inevitable fate of those who are outside the pale of Hindu caste. At Madura I visited the Union Club, open to all religions. In the refreshment-room there was a table for Brahmans, another for other castes, a third for Mussulmans, &c. If a Brahman and a Sudra enter the club together, and sit at the same table over a cup of tea, excommunication would be the fate of the former. Some day a sudden impulse will make a common table, to the defiance of caste rules. Old orthodox and young heterodox Brahmanism come into constant collision over social questions, such as the age of consent, the re-marriage of widows, and their relations with other castes. I was received on the railway platform here last week by 400 or 500 Congressmen of whom probably two-thirds were Brahmans—they were flushed and excited with victory, hot from a public meeting called to protest against any proposals for raising the age of consent in Hindu marriages, where they had routed the orthodox Conservatives hip and thigh.

The Congress Brahman finds himself in much the same position as an Oxford graduate compelled to conform his life to the social laws of the books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, under a penalty of penal servitude for life for the smallest breach. He only tolerates his position for the sake of his old father and mother, that his may be the hand to place the torch to their funeral pyre. The Congress Brahman who has performed this last sacred duty demands that the old iron rules of thirty centuries of polytheism shall be put in the melting pot and recast. If this is not done, the twentieth century of Hindu history will be reared on the ashes of dead Brahmanism.

"EQUAL" JUSTICE IN INDIA.

A few months ago we published from the pen of an able Indian publicist a short series of articles in which the inequality of the Indian laws as between Europeans and Indians was shown. It followed from this that injustice is often done. Here, taken from one of Mr. Caine's letters, is a striking instance in support of our contributor's contention:—

I find everywhere in Calcutta, in native circles, a very strong feeling of resentment towards the Government in consequence of the gross miscarriage of justice in the matter of the Dum-Dum murder case, which in my opinion has done more to strain the relations of the two races in India than anything that has happened for many a long year past. As this case has not aroused much attention in England I will give a brief summary of the facts.

One night last May, four soldiers of the Leinster Regiment, stationed at Dum-Dum, a suburb of Calcutta, left the barracks about 10 p.m., with their rifles, ostensibly on a pig-shooting expedition, but really on a hunt for drink. They went to two or three houses in the village and knocked up the inmates, demanding liquor, without success. They then went into a palm-grove and stole some toddy out of the tree pots. About midnight they went to the house of one Selim Sheikh, who was asleep in his verandah. They dragged him out of his bed, knocked him about, and ordered him to take them to the nearest liquor shop. On his refusal they dragged him to a tank near his house and threw him into the water. Private O'Hara then aimed his rifle at him and was about to fire, when Private M'Dermott said, "For God's sake, don't fire." O'Hara replied, "Never mind, there are plenty more of these black bastards," and at once shot poor Selim, who was splashing about in the tank. Private Bellew then fired another shot at Selim, and the four went off, leaving him to his fate. His wife had roused the neighbours, and dragged him out, to die a few minutes after from a shot through the chest. The soldiers got back to the barracks unobserved, and it was only when a reward of 500 rupees was offered, and a conditional pardon, that the two soldiers who had not fired turned Queen's evidence. O'Hara and Bellew were then committed to the Calcutta High Court on a charge of murder. Clearer evidence was never given in a court of justice. In addition to the two Queen's witnesses, Bhootnath, a native shop-keeper, who had been roused by the prisoners in search of drink, swore positively to their identity. Judge Norris, who tried the case, directed the acquittal of Bellew; the jury unanimously found O'Hara guilty, and Judge Norris sentenced him to death. It came out in the course of the trial that the Leinster Regiment had raised a subscription for the defence of the two soldiers, and several of their comrades attempted to prove a false alibi, which broke down hopelessly. Judge Norris, commenting on this from the bench, said that he was astonished that a regiment of Englishmen and Irishmen had not thought fit to raise any subscription for the support of the widow and children of the murdered man; a remark which appears, for some inscrutable reason, to have given great offence to certain of the Anglo-Indian community in Calcutta who made desperate attempts to get the sentence commuted. The Leinster Regiment was reported to be in a state of boiling indignation at the idea of one of their comrades being hanged for killing a "nigger," and it was commonly reported that if the sentence were carried out the regiment would mutiny, and shoot down every native they could find. It is evident that the Government were thoroughly alarmed, as the Leinster Regiment was sent away by order of the Commander-in-Chief a few days before the date fixed for O'Hara's execution. At last an application was made to the Advocate-General for a certificate to the effect that Judge Norris was wrong in his charge to the jury. He refused it at first, but subsequently relented and granted the application. There was no record except the judge's notes; yet on such flimsy grounds the whole case was revised before a bench consisting of the Chief Justice, two civilian judges, and two barrister judges, of whom Judge Norris was one. This bench held that Judge Norris was wrong in telling the jury that the two soldiers who turned informers were not accomplices in the crime, and on a review of the evidence acquitted O'Hara.

A more disastrous miscarriage of justice never occurred. No one has the smallest doubt that a cold-blooded murder was committed, the outcome of the brutal contempt for "black men" that is unhappily still the characteristic of many ignorant and prejudiced Englishmen in India. Every Indian in Calcutta, high and low, is convinced, and with some reason, that the Government has yielded to fears and threats, and lent themselves and their judges to the encouragement of a race hatred that they ought above all others to be the first to stamp out. The nasty smear left behind by the O'Hara case will take many years to rub out. I shall not be much surprised if some native jury claims a set-off to O'Hara, and acquits some "black bastard" who has been caught red-handed in a murder. The other day a native cashier was tried for a bad case of embezzlement, on his own confession. He was acquitted. His employers were Englishmen, and the verdict was a clear miscarriage of justice. I have heard this acquittal spoken of many times by natives as a first instalment of what they mean to get as a "set off" to the Dum-Dum murder.

MISSIONARIES AND THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

WE quote from the *Monthly News Letter* of the Baptist Missionary Conference at Calcutta, which has been sent to us, the following remarks from the pen of the editor, the Rev. George Kerry:—

"Some of you will remember that in the August letter there was a paragraph on the 'Relation of Missionaries to the National Congress.' I wrote that letter in part because Mr. Caine had written to me suggesting that I should join the Congress, and indicating that in his judgment I should be taking a wise and proper step as a Missionary. Thus I was led very carefully to consider the proposal, and as I found there was space left in the letter, I thought I would give my brethren the fruit of my consideration of the question before my mind. Having done this, I sent Mr. Caine a copy of the *Letter* containing this paragraph, so that he might see how his suggestion struck me after much careful thought. I have reason to believe that Mr. Caine communicated this letter to a gentleman who is the English correspondent of the *Bengali*, a newspaper published in this city. This correspondent has inserted in his letter to the *Bengali*, as published on the 8th of November, an attack upon me, and on us all as being a degenerate lot of men unworthy of our grand ancestry. I give you an opportunity of seeing what is thought of you by one man in England because of your presumed indifference to the political needs of the people of India. As a matter of fact I only spoke, and that in a tentative way, for myself and not for you at all, though the attack assumes that the view I expressed is that which you all hold. The writer also assumes that the view I expressed is that which you all hold. The writer also assumes that because, for the reasons indicated, it appears to me to be undesirable that missionaries should take an active part in such movements as the National Congress that, therefore, I am hostile and that you are hostile also."

The *News Letter* adds:—

"The London correspondent of the *Bengali* thus writes on the attitude of missionaries towards the National Congress movement:—

"How is it that the missionaries in India, as a whole, hold aloof from the Congress movement? With the exception of the Church of England missionaries, it is safe to say that nine out of ten of the missionaries in India, if they occupied a position in the Free Churches in England to whom they belong, would be prominent Liberal politicians actively assisting all such enterprises as that in which the Congress is engaged. Do they put off their Liberalism after leaving Aden as certain of their countrymen are said to lose their religion somewhere in the Arabian Sea? A remnant at least have shown that their ideas of freedom are not bounded by lines of latitude and longitude, that they agree with the poet Lowell in stigmatising those as 'slaves most base whose love of right is for themselves and not for all the race.'

"A copy, No. 34, August, 1890, of the *Monthly News Letter* published for private circulation by the Baptist Missionary Conference in Bengal, has come into our hands. I do not think I am guilty of any breach of confidence in saying that half of page 4 is taken up with an article on 'Missionaries and the National Congress.' The article is signed 'G. K.' the initials of a most experienced missionary, for whom I have not a little respect in one aspect at any rate. I must confess my respect was strongly strained as I read the miserable special pleading by which 'G. K.' satisfies himself, and probably some of his brethren, that it is undesirable that missionaries should take part in this movement. So did not 'G. K.'s' fellow Baptists act throughout every political campaign that has been fought against privilege and injustice in Britain. John Morley, in his essay on Compromise, I think, bears tribute to the Baptists as having been foremost in all movements which had the good of the people at large for their object. The position which the Baptists have occupied in England seems likely to be taken in India by the Wesleyans and the Congregationalists. Among the former, the Rev. G. M. Cobban and the Rev. E. E. Jenkins, D.D., take a prominent place, while Congregationalism is splendidly represented by the Rev. E. T. Slater, of Madras, and the Rev. Mr. Hume of the Deccan. The Baptists, once the bravest of the fighters for humanity and for the broadening of the bounds of freedom, are now, in India, amongst the most laggard, dumb, speaking not a word, careless wholly in regard to matters which in England would arouse their heartiest sympathies. 'G. K.' concludes his remarks thus: 'It will be known in the future as in the past that missionaries are the friends of the people and of all good things.' 'All good things.' Then, 'G. K.,' is the Congress a bad thing? You are not a friend of it. Missionaries are generally unfriendly. After declaring you will not take sides, you at once proceed to rank yourself with the enemies of progress. Alas! for the Anglo-Indianism which possesses Christian missionaries in India, and which has so much to do with that want of success of their efforts which is so generally recognised."

To this we would add, for ourselves, that if Mr. Kerry wants an example let him look at the career of that great man of his own community, the Rev. Mr. Kaibb, of Jamaica. What Kaibb did in Jamaica Mr. Kerry and others ought to do in India.

THE SOCIAL CONFERENCE IN THE CONGRESS PAVILION.

MR. CAINE describes the above interesting and important movement in the following terms:

The Indian National Congress has always refused to discuss social questions. The committee hold, and rightly, that in a Congress composed of representatives of all the various religious communities of a nation whose every social custom and domestic institution is based on religious observance or ceremonial it would not be right or wise to discuss matters which, like widow marriage, the age of consent, caste rules, affect exclusively a moiety of the community. The Madras delegates, coming from the most enlightened and advanced Hindu community in India, were very desirous of bringing forward a resolution before the Congress itself in favour of raising the age of consent. The Subjects Committee, though overwhelmingly in favour of it personally, refused even to discuss it as a possible subject for the Congress, on the grounds just stated.

The whole question of child-marriage is so pre-eminently the question of the hour in India that great interest was felt by nearly every delegate in the debates and decisions of the "Social Conference", which for the last four years has met in the great hall on the Sunday of Congress week. This Conference is open to all the delegates, as well as to the representatives of the affiliated societies scattered all over India. At one o'clock on Sunday afternoon more than 1000 social reformers, including many Indian ladies, were gathered together to form the fourth Indian Social Conference.

Dr. Mohendro Lal Sircar, a distinguished man of science, was the president-elect. He was very ill, and was not expected, but shortly after the proceedings began, he arrived, stating that he had "almost dragged himself from the brink of the grave" in his anxiety to be present. He spoke with much evident suffering, but with rare eloquence. I have seldom listened to a more stirring and pathetic appeal than his reference to child-marriage. He declared with authority, based upon long experience, that this horrid custom was entirely to blame for the physical degeneracy of the Hindu race. "If", said he, "the Government left our shores to-day, could Bengal maintain it to-morrow? No! this custom has destroyed that great capacity for work and enterprise which characterised old Hindus, and stronger races would eat us up. Improve the fountain of life, and you may hope to compete with races born of mature parents; but the Hindu race to-day consists of abortions and premature births!" These sentiments were received with universal approval and applause.

The resolution bearing upon child-marriage was moved by Mr. Mudholkar, of Amraoti, and seconded by Madan Mohun Moulavi, both popular Congress orators; and the debates on this and every other were conducted by Congress delegates, who formed three-fourths of the meeting. I look upon the decisions of the Social Conference as even more weighty than those of the Congress itself, composed as it is of all its best elements, combined with other reformers who from various reasons cannot join the Congress. The resolution as submitted is as follows:

That this Conference is of opinion "that the injunctions of the Shastras and the well-being of the community alike demand" that the practice of child marriage should be discouraged by public sentiment, and that within the sphere of the various castes and communities strenuous efforts be made to postpone "the betrothal of girls and boys beyond the age of ten years and sixteen years, and" the celebration of marriage rites till twelve in the case of girls, and eighteen in the case of boys, and the consummation of the marriage till after they attain the ages of fourteen and twenty respectively, and that members of the various social reform associations in the country should, "as far as possible," pledge themselves to see that these limits of age are realised IN THEIR OWN CASE and in actual practice, and public opinion educated to advance these limits still higher, "so as to secure a return to the best traditions of our ancestors, and avoid the many evils consequent upon the perversion of the old practice."

The resolution, as finally passed, omitted all the words within inverted commas, and inserted those in capitals. It will be seen at a glance that the whole tendency of the debate, which lasted over two hours, was to strengthen, and not to weaken, the resolution. The speakers were from all over India, and singularly representative. They brought out in striking and eloquent speeches the undoubted fact that the early marriage system of the Hindus everywhere is the fruitful source of many cases of immorality and cruelty, which, by existing legislation, are under the protection of law; that in only too many instances young immature girls are practically murdered by husbands who escape all punishment, and that thousands of young mothers perish in childbirth, their places being filled by fresh victims. This debate, following upon endless discussion in private during the last six weeks, convinces me that the Government may quite as safely legislate in the direction of raising the age of consent to fourteen as in the case of Suttee.

The other resolutions condemned the imprisonment of women in execution of decrees for restitution of conjugal rights, condemned the outcasting of persons who undertake sea voyages, the detestable practice of men over fifty years marrying girls under twelve, and other matters of minor interest. At the close Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., said a few words, and Mrs. Schwann made a charming and sympathetic little speech, which was quite one of the events of the day.

SOCIETY OF ARTS: INDIAN SECTION.

ON the 26th of February, Mr. Robert Gordon, M.I.C.E., reads a paper on "The Economic Development of Siam", the Chairman being Sir Charles Bernard. On the 9th of April, Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell, C.I.E., formerly judge of the Punjaub Chief Court, will read a paper on "The Indian Village, with special reference to modern investigation". Lord Reay is to preside. On the 28th of May, Mr. C. L. Tupper, secretary to the Punjaub Government, deals with "The study of Indian history". Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff, will take the chair on this occasion. The other papers to be read include one by Colonel R. Parry Nisbet, C.I.E., on "Cashmere, in its Economic and Industrial Aspects". Colonel Hasted has undertaken to describe the Periyar project, a triumph of engineering skill with which people in this country are not as familiar as they ought to be. The meetings of the Indian Section are in future to take place on Thursdays at half-past four, instead of Fridays, so as to avoid clashing with the departure of the Eastern mails.

Cards of admission to any of the meetings can be obtained from Mr. S. Digby, Secretary, Indian Section, Society of Arts, Adelphi, W.C.

THE SIXTH SESSION
OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Unfortunately, our space does not permit of our giving even a complete synopsis of the four days' Congress proceedings at Calcutta. This matters little, perhaps, seeing that we are able to lay Mr. W. S. Caine's graphic and lively narrative before our readers. We also give the salient points in the speeches of the President of the Congress and the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Elsewhere will be found a portrait of Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, and detailed particulars of the career of that gentleman. In a few weeks the verbatim report of the proceedings from the pen of Mr. T. Allen Reed will be available for distribution in this country. Mr. Caine writes:—

PREPARING FOR THE ASSEMBLY OF DELEGATES.

The organisation of an Indian National Congress is no light matter. It is placed in the hands of a body of men called the "Reception Committee," composed of the leading and active members resident in the city where the meetings are to be held. Their first duty is to find a suitable place. Calcutta has no public hall in which such a concourse could meet. The largest is the Town Hall, a long, low, narrow building of bad acoustic properties, holding about two thousand persons only. The Committee have, therefore, had to build a special structure. Mr. Rajendra Lal Mullick, a wealthy Hindu landowner, has given them the free use of a large bungalow, with six or eight acres of compound. In this has been erected a vast hall of bamboo and matting, 250 feet long by 125 feet wide, to seat six thousand persons. Four thousand chairs were to have been imported from Vienna and sold by auction afterwards, the rest of the seats being benches borrowed from various schools. But, alas! the steamer bringing the chairs has suffered shipwreck, and it has been a serious difficulty to get substitutes, adding greatly to the anxieties of the Committee. The building is lined inside—roof, sides, and columns—with vari-coloured cloth, and when filled with six thousand turbanned delegates, will be a gay and picturesque sight. The building alone will cost Rs. 11,000. The next difficulty the Committee has to face is the entertainment of the delegates. Mr. Nirnai Chanan Bose has given up his famous mansion in the Shum Bazar, with its thirty-nine marble-floored rooms, for the use of the orthodox Hindu delegates. Forty cooks and fifty other servants have been engaged and drilled into discipline to look after the comfort of the four hundred guests, of all castes and from every part of India, who are to entertained in the Mohun Bagan Palace. The hundred-and-fifty Mussulman delegates will all be housed in two huge bungalows lent by Mr. Palit and Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter. The whole of the delegates from the country, about nine hundred, will be met at the railway stations by members of the Committee and conveyed to their respective lodgings, employing a whole regiment of hackney carriages, 'buses, and other vehicles.

All this has to be done by a committee of volunteers to whom such work is entirely strange, in a city devoid of all accessories. It will cost 60,000 rupees, and the task of collecting the needful funds is also thrown upon this overworked committee. The genius of the whole business is the honorary secretary of the Reception Committee, Mr. J. Ghosal, who may count himself fortunate if he gets through under one hundred working days of twelve hours each. His tact, energy, and enthusiasm are, indeed, boundless. The chairman of the Reception Committee is, after the president, the most important personage of the Congress. The office could not be in better hands than those of Mr. Manomohun Ghose, one of the foremost Hindu reformers of Bengal. Mr. Ghose is the son of a subordinate judge, who played his part in the educational reforms of the last generation. He is forty-six years old, and the brother of Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, the Liberal candidate for Deptford. In 1862 he left for England with his friend, Mr. S. N. Tagore, to seek their fortunes, which they found. Mr. Tagore, being the first Indian to pass the Civil Service examination, now occupies the position of District Judge; Mr. Ghose, being the first Indian called to the English Bar who has practised in India, is now the acknowledged leader of the criminal Bar of Calcutta. His eldest son, now in England, has just passed the Indian Civil Service examination with great credit. There has been some delay in finally deciding upon a president for this year's Congress—not for want of choice, but because it was thought desirable to give variety from previous presidents. A Hindu, a Mussulman, a Parsee, a British merchant, and a retired Indian civilian, have all in turn filled the presidential chair; and this year the Committee decided to invite a Eurasian. After much discussion, their choice fell upon Mr. Gantz, a Madras barrister, president of the Eurasian Association of that city, and a staunch supporter of the Congress from its birth. He accepted the invitation in the first instance, but afterwards altered his mind, and declined. He has, however, been elected one of the Madras delegates, his reasons being purely personal and not from any indifference to the aims of the Congress. The Committee then decided upon Mr. Pherozshah M. Mehta, who was the chairman of the Reception Committee at Bombay last year. And their choice was a wise one. Mr. Mehta is a Parsee in the prime of life, a barrister occupying much the same position in Bombay as Mr. Ghose does in Calcutta. He was the first Parsee who graduated M.A. with honours at the Bombay University, taking a fellowship of Elphinstone College, and was also the first Parsee called to the English Bar. He has twice been elected chairman of the Bombay municipality, and is probably the first authority in India on municipal questions.

A RAPID REVIEW OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

The sixth Indian National Congress has met and parted. It has not been quite the brilliant success of its two predecessors. In a capital where almost every educated man is either in Government service, or hoping to get a son into Government service, a gathering of educated men meeting under the freezing disapproval—of Government, has every chance of failing. But the Congress is not flags and decorations, hospitality and evening parties, bands and banners, and applauding crowds; these help to impress the casual observer no doubt, but the real thing is the thousand delegates who have come from all parts of India, men in deadly earnest, who sit in the centre of the great Congress Hall debating and resolving on matters of deep import to their country.

The scene in the Congress Hall is one of great brilliance. Every delegate wears the distinctive head-dress of his district; crimson, green, blue, orange, white and gold turbans of all sizes, shapes, and colours. Here and there the mass of colour is relieved by the queer receding oil-cloth hat of a Parsee, the extraordinary gold hat of a Sind delegate, like an English hat with the crown cut out, turned upside down, and worn with a brim in the air, or the black-and-gold cap of some Oudh Mussulman. The dresses are equally picturesque. One delegate is clad in white satin from head to foot, the sheen relieved by a turban and scarf of the finest white muslin; another in sapphire velvet embroidered with gold; others in dove-coloured cloth, gold or silver kincobs, Cashmere shawls, and Benares brocades. All round this gay and shimmering company are vast crowds of Calcutta citizens, who dress for the most part in sober colours without turbans. Three thousand bare black heads throw out in rich relief the mass of colour in the centre. Right opposite the platform is gallery A, reserved for distinguished visitors. This is almost empty, "distinguished" men in India being mostly under Government influence.

THE LADIES' GALLERY.

On the right side of the platform is a space filled by sixty or seventy Indian ladies, mostly members of the Brahma-Somaj, who have put on their bravest apparel and finest gauds for the occasion, in the front rank of whom are nine lady delegates elected at a public meeting in Calcutta. The dignified lady whose cap is encrusted with pearls, and whose gold-embroidered "sari" is worth a king's ransom, is Mrs. Ghosal, the wife of the energetic hon. secretary, and granddaughter of Dwarkanath Tagore; she is the editress of the *Bharati*, a Bengali magazine for ladies. By her side is Mrs. Ganguli, a fully qualified doctor of medicine, and the most distinguished woman graduate of Calcutta University. Mrs. Chatterjee, Misses Bose, Sarkar, and Banerjee, in the same row, are all Christian ladies distinguished in Bengal female educational work; Mrs. Mozumdar is the superintendent of a large girls' school, Mrs. Bose a well-known authoress, and Mrs. Chowdhury the editor of a vernacular paper. Mrs. Ganguli wished to speak on the salt-tax resolution, but was suppressed by some busybody, to the great disappointment of everybody. She afterwards moved the vote of thanks to the president.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

In the presidential address of Mr. Mehta, it was remarkable that, though he is a Parsee, he drew no less than seven of his illustrations from the Bible. I was much struck with the prompt way in which every one of them was taken up by the audience, an evidence of the widespread influence of mission schools and colleges in the creation of this growing mass of educated Indians, as well as of the failure of an education

veneered with Christianity to make converts to Christianity. I doubt if there were sixty Christians out of the whole six thousand present. Your young Bengali is a very roach for sucking the paste off the missionary hook, without being caught himself. The most telling sentences in Mr. Mehta's able address were those in which he put into the witness-box on behalf of the Congress an array of Anglo-Indian officials, beginning with Sir William Hunter and Sir Richard Garth, going on to Lord Northbrook, Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, and Sir Charles Elliott. He closed this part of his speech with a quotation from Macaulay's well-known dedication to Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne, appealing to the present Viceroy in the following words: "The dawn of that day which Macaulay foresaw was but the prophetic vision of the reality which is now breaking on the horizon, the curtain which is now rising on the drama. Let us earnestly hope that the present illustrious bearer of the great historic name of Lansdowne, who by a wonderful ordering of events has now come to rule over us, may watch the glowing streaks of light with generous sympathy, and preside over the certain march of events with timely and provident statesmanship."

THE SUBJECTS' COMMITTEE THE EQUAL OF ANY GRAND COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT.

At the close of his speech Mr. Mehta took his seat in the president's chair, and the Congress was formally opened. The only business done that day was the formal election of the "Subjects' Committee," a body of one hundred and five delegates elected according to population by the Standing Committees of the different district circles throughout India. This body is practically the heart of the whole Congress. It meets daily before and after the public session, settles the subjects to be discussed, the wording of the resolutions, their movers and seconders, and is the paramount authority on all procedure. Consisting of the picked men of educated India, the debates of the Subjects' Committee are of the greatest interest, and I have never sat upon any committee (except the grand committee of the House which dealt with Mr. Chamberlain's Bankruptcy Bill) which transacted its business more promptly and with so little unnecessary palaver. On many details of the subjects proposed, there were the keenest differences of opinion and prolonged discussion, which, however, always ended in mutual concession and final agreement.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS' REFORM BILL.

On Saturday, Dec. 27th, the proceedings commenced with the moving of the principal resolution, approving Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill to amend the India Councils Act, and petitioning Parliament to pass it into law. This was proposed by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, as representing Bengal, in a quiet, impressive speech, seconded in faultless English by Mr. Anandu Charlu, of Madras, supported by Mr. Nayadu, of Nagpur, a young barrister, in a superfine English masher get-up, who convulsed the audience by introducing himself as the "Secretary of State for India in the Paddington Parliament," and who was promptly closured by the President while taking a glass of water; further supported by Madan Mohun Malaviya, of Allahabad, one of the favourite orators of the Congress, Mr. Bishan Naryan Dar, of Lucknow, a Kashmeri Brahman, who has been "out-cast" for going to England; Mr. Lalla Hukam Chund, from Lahore; and Mr. Shurfuddin, a Mussulman barrister from Behar, thus covering the whole of India. Other speakers followed, with a five minutes' limit, fervid eloquence and quiet statesmanlike argument alternating with quick succession in a free debate equal in quality to great occasions in the House of Commons. The resolution was carried with great unanimity and enthusiasm.

RE-AFFIRMING PAST CONCLUSIONS.

The second resolution was an "omnibus" one, ratifying and confirming resolutions passed by previous Congresses, calling for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions in the civil administration; extension of trial by jury; reform of police administration; the establishment of military colleges for natives of India; the admission of natives to volunteer forces; the relief of small incomes from income tax; the increase of public expenditure on education, especially technical; reduction of military expenditure; the examination of candidates for the Civil Service simultaneously in India and England; and the relaxation of the Arms Act in districts where destructive wild animals abound. This resolution was moved by a Christian Hindu, Mr. Kali Charan Banerjee, a leading High Court pleader, editor of the *Indian Christian Herald*, and the Minister of the Christo-Somaj, which calls itself the United Church of India, aiming to unite all Indian Christians in one Church. He delivered a clever and eloquent speech, bristling with Scripture quotations, caught up and loudly applauded by his audience, in further proof of what I observed a few sentences back. The resolution passed without debate.

RESTORATION OF AN OLD PARLIAMENTARY RIGHT DESIRED.

The third resolution petitioned Parliament to restore the right, formerly possessed by members of the House of Commons, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before the Speaker leaves the chair on going into Committee on the Indian Budget statement, and further urged the reasonable request that in future the House would discuss the Indian Budget at such a date and in such manner as will ensure its full and adequate discussion. This resolution was moved by me, and seconded by Mr. George Yule, who made one of his wisest and most statesmanlike speeches.

INDIAN LIQUOR LAWS AND THEIR REFORM.

The fourth resolution recognised the reform in Excise Revenue promised by the Government of India in response to previous prayers of the Congress, noting "with pleasure" the increase to the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over seven thousand liquor shops in the Madras Presidency, and urged the Government to insist on all provincial administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in Clauses 103, 104, and 105 of their despatch to the Secretary of State for India in March last, in reply to the censure of Parliament carried by Mr. Samuel Smith in March, 1888. This note of victory was vigorously taken up by the Congress, who carried the resolution without debate amid loud and repeated applause.

THE SALT TAX AND A PERMANENT LAND REVENUE.

The Congress met again at eleven o'clock on Monday, a good many Dissenting missionaries of both sexes being present in the visitors' gallery, including Bishop Thoburn, of the American Methodists, and Mr. Ashton, the veteran of the London Missionary Society. The first resolution carried appealed to Government to reduce the salt tax to its old limits, before the recent enhancement; the next dealt with the permanent settlement question, and the animated debates on these two subjects occupied the greater portion of the sitting.

THE HOSTILE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND BOYCOTTING BY ANGLO-INDIANS.

Towards the close, Mr. Manomohun Ghose brought forward a resolution which had no place on the agenda paper, but which has awakened stronger feeling than any other incident of the Congress. It was seconded by Mr. George Yule. This resolution had reference to the veto placed upon Government officials attending the Congress.

For the last twelve months it has been abundantly clear all over India, that the word of command has gone out to Government servants, from the Lieutenant-Governors to the chuprassies, that no one in the employ of the State is to give the slightest encouragement to the Congress. In many instances petty annoyances and veiled threats are used to prevent influential people from taking any part in political meetings, and the Congress movement generally is treated as "seditious," and as though it were a grave danger to the State. Sympathisers who have sons at College are told that they stand in the way of possible places in Government service for their lads, and a leading Calcutta barrister tells me that during the last month several Government pensioners have asked his advice as to whether or no they risked their pensions by attending the meetings of Congress! When Mr. Mudholkar left for England last spring, for the purpose of advocating Congress matters at home, a friend of his invited some others to his house, to give him a farewell and a perfectly private dinner. A Government servant was invited, and came, and a day or two afterwards was present on the railway platform to say good-bye to Mr. Mudholkar. For this heinous offence he was reported to the Chief Commissioner by the Collector, and was sent for to give personal explanations.

On the top of all this sort of thing comes a silly manifesto of the Bengal Government, absolutely forbidding the presence of Government officials, "even as visitors," the Lieutenant-Governor writing a letter to the secretary of the Congress definitely applying the official prohibition to the visitors' gallery of the Congress. Mr. Yule, in seconding the resolution I have just quoted, was justly indignant, speaking of the Lieutenant-Governor's letter as "a gross insolence offered to a body of men whose chief public characteristics are devotion to the Queen and devotion to the true interests of the country, animated by as true and honest a purpose as any official in the land"—a sentence that brought the vast audience to its feet with repeated ringing cheers, sweeping the resolution through without further debate and without being put from the chair formally.

This poor and contemptible policy pursued by the Government is taken up and outrun by the Government newspapers, the most servile in the world. While the *Statesman* and the *Mirror* (Calcutta dailies) print the proceedings of the Congress almost verbatim, the *Englishman*, which arrogates to itself a similar position to that enjoyed by the *Times* in England, was absolutely silent for the first three days, and on the fourth, dismissed a public conference of one thousand picked representatives from all over India with six contemptuous lines of small print, the only speeches reported by them being delivered by Mr. Yule and myself, as though the editor wished, by selecting two unimportant speeches by Englishmen, and omitting every other, to show his contempt for every native of India who took part in the proceedings. Now the Congress movement is either seditious, or it is not. If it be seditious, the Government ought to suppress it, and they have ample

(*Continued on page 57.*)

THE *PIONEER* (OF ALLAHABAD): "A DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT."

A STRIKING INDICTMENT OF BRITISH MISMANAGEMENT AND CRUELTY.

EIGHTY THOUSAND PEOPLE "DISAPPEARED".

If ever a Province in India had a ruler whose character was dominated by the most kindly Christian feelings, and who might, therefore, be supposed to regard the people he ruled with tender concern, that Province was the Panjab a few years ago, and that ruler was Sir Charles U. Aitchison. The mischief, in this instance, was done before he began to rule, but, during his rule, he appears to have done nothing. We are indebted to the *Pioneer* for a narrative which proves most conclusively the main contentions of Mr. Wm. Digby's "Open Letter to Members of the House of Commons," namely:

1. The condition of the Indian people is most deplorable under, and because of, our system of rule;

2. Our mode of administration is in most urgent need of drastic reform, and individual administrators, however good they may be in their private character, are often responsible for gross cruelty and injustice in India.

Before beginning our extracts from the *Pioneer* article, it may be remarked, for the benefit of our English readers, that the paper so named is the generally-acknowledged organ of the British officials in India. It is the staunch supporter of the Administration against all proposals for resolute and effectual reform. If it, therefore, is compelled to speak in such strains as will be immediately quoted, awful indeed must be the condition of things. And awful, indeed, they are. No critic has ever yet condemned many features of our rule in adequate terms.

In its issue of December 30, 1890, the *Pioneer* contains a leading article entitled:

"A PUNJAB SETTLEMENT: A LESSON IN MISMANAGEMENT."

We quote from that article the following passages:

The report on the revised settlement of the Gurgaon District was submitted in 1881, was specially reported on in 1883, was reviewed by the late Colonel Wace, Financial Commissioner, in 1886, and has only now had orders passed upon it by the Panjab Government. It has taken eight years to effect a work which might have been accomplished in as many months. *Aliquando dormitat Homerus*, and so too does the Panjab Government. The blame for the delay, partly perhaps due to an excess of caution, must be shared between several Lieutenant-Governors and Financial Commissioners. Amongst the latter was one whose energy and determination to permit no arrears were remarkable—so remarkable that, when a district officer, explaining why a certain monthly return could not reach his office by the prescribed date unless it was more or less fudged and post-dated in the district office, asked for instructions, he received the answer that he was expected "to arrange the matter".

Our readers will not fail to note the incitement here to "fudge" returns.

The Gurgaon District, as is well known, was transferred from the North-West Provinces to the Punjab just after the Mutiny. It covers 2,000 square miles, has a good soil, over a million of cultivated acres, and in average years is fairly secure. Unfortunately less than ten per cent. of its area is protected by well or canal irrigation, and average years are occasionally broken by periods of short or unseasonable rainfall. The population is a little under three quarters of a million, is almost entirely agricultural, and is composed of a mixture of Hindu and Mussulman Rajputs, Ahirs, and a primitive race called Meos, supposed to be descended from the pre-Aryan aborigines of the Aravalli Hills. All these tribes are poor, industrious, and backward. Their general poverty is so great that if the crops fail for two successive harvests tens of thousands are reduced to the verge of starvation, and the cattle die or are sold off or eaten. Thus when propitious seasons return the people are not in a position to take advantage of them. Most of the million cultivated acres are held directly by their self-cultivating owners. In a word,

THE DISTRICT IS PEOPLED BY A FINE, RUDE PEASANTRY,

habitually living on the verge of want, and, as in the case of other insecure tracts in the Punjab, the inelastic revenue system prevailing can only be worked if timely suspensions and remissions are given whenever the harvests are below average. How far this duty has been performed of late years will be seen presently.

The unfortunate people of the district have from early times until seven years ago been

STEADILY RACK-RENTED BY THE RULER OF THE DAY

—our own first summary settlements were instances of excessive demand. Those assessments repeatedly broke down; but no sooner were reductions granted than new enhancements were imposed. A regular settlement was effected in 1837-38 by "Jan Larans Sahib" and others, but

THE FUTURE LORD LAWRENCE WAS ALSO TOO HARD ON THE PEASANT.

In 1842 a revised assessment afforded some relief to the long-suffering people. The district rubbed along fairly well even through the famine period of 1860-61, until, in 1873, an elaborate revision of assessment was begun. The timely suspensions of something under a lakh and a-half of rupees in the famine year of 1860-61, and of half a lakh in 1868, seem to have tided the poorest villages over two periods of distress. The officer selected for the responsible and delicate work of reassessing the district was Mr. F. C. Channing. He was a young officer with an old head. He raised the assessment from eleven to nearly thirteen lakhs. His work, judged statistically, was excellent in every way, thorough and careful, and his distribution, gauged by the various tests required by the rules, could not have been better. The new assessments ran from the kharif season of 1877. Then, as so often happens in insecure tracts in the Punjab, no sooner were the new assessments imposed than a short or no-harvest cycle of seasons began. With admirable forethought Mr. Channing at once pointed out to his official superiors that, after all, his assessments were fair weather assessments, and could only be fully realised in short seasons if the people borrowed at ruinous interest from the money-lenders. He, therefore, in view of the impending failure of the kharif, urged that half of the demand should be suspended. Both Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner supported him. But Imperial necessity forbade a relaxation.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA WERE STRAITENED FOR MONEY BECAUSE OF THE MADRAS FAMINE, AND WERE UNWILLING TO ENTERTAIN THE IDEA OF FAMINE ELSEWHERE.

So, on the erroneous plea that a capacity to pay an enhanced revenue in any given year implied large profits in past years, the application for suspension was refused.

The fiat went forth. The new demand must be paid in full: let the people dig up their buried "profits". So the tax-gatherer went forth, and squeezed all he could out of the starving villagers. But to no purpose. In the following May (1878) there was an arrear balance of one and a-quarter lakhs, which the Panjab Government was compelled to suspend, because it could not be realised. Further, half a-lakh was advanced to the poorest cultivators to invest in seed-grain and plough-cattle. The kharif of 1878 was also short; but

THE RUINED PEASANTRY COULD GET NO MERCY NOW.

The Government of India required money to prosecute its war with Afghanistan, SO the peasantry of Gurgaon had to help to find the sinews of war. In 1879 a remission and reduction of about a lakh was sanctioned in one letter, whilst an equal sum was ordered to be realised on account of settlement fees in another. In that year the autumn crops were good; but

AFTER TWO YEARS OF STARVATION AND RACK-RENTING THE PEOPLE WERE BEING DECIMATED BY WHAT IS DESCRIBED AS "A TERRIBLE EPIDEMIC OF FEVER," SO THAT THEY "HAD HARDLY STRENGTH ENOUGH TO GATHER IN THE HARVEST."

In 1881 small remissions and suspensions were sanctioned, but were useless, as in the previous year the recovery of the two years' arrears of the recently enhanced local rate was enforced. Finally in 1882, when almost too late, Sir James Lyall, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, then Financial Commissioner, paid Gurgaon a visit, and proposed radical measures for the relief of

THE HALF-RUINED PEASANTRY.

Large remissions and suspensions were granted, and two lakhs of rupees were advanced for the purchase of plough cattle—most of the loan probably in reality going into the pockets of the money-lenders as interest on money or seed-grain lent. A special officer, Mr. Wilson, was also appointed to revise the new assessments. In November, 1883, he submitted his report. It showed that between 1877 and 1882, 150,000 head of cattle had died; 12 per cent., or about

80,000 OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION HAD, TO WRITE EUPHEMISTICALLY, "DISAPPEARED;"

the cultivated area had shrunk, 10 per cent. of it had been sold or mortgaged, and twenty lakhs of rupees of debt had been incurred. The revised assessment reduced Mr. Channing's demand by a lakh of rupees a year for seven years, and by half a lakh permanently. In addition three and a-half lakhs of arrears were remitted. With respect to the extent of relief afforded by Mr. Wilson's revisions and reductions, Sir James Lyall significantly remarks that they "did not go beyond the bare necessities of the case," and further that "it must not be forgotten that less costly remedies would have been sufficient had they been applied at an earlier stage of the distress."

We go further than Sir James. We assert that had any great private landlord shown the same

CALLOUS SENSELESSNESS

in the management of his estate as did the Punjab Government in

revenue administration of the Gurgaon District between 1877 and 1882, that landlord

WOULD HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED BY PUBLIC OPINION IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS.

Instead of deploring the shortcomings of his predecessors, and partly, too, of the Government of India, His Honour contents himself by recording that the revenue administration of the district between 1877 and 1882 cannot "be viewed with entire satisfaction," and that in any case "things might have been worse in the Gurgaon District than they actually were," and were certainly better than they had been in the neighbouring States of Ulwar and Jaipur. It is, perhaps, satisfactory to learn that the lesson of the Gurgaon mismanagement has resulted in the passing of a resolution, "that the full revenue of insecure tracts shall not be realised in years of severe or long-continued drought, but that such relief shall be given by way of suspensions, and when necessary by way of advances for the purchase of bullocks, etc., as may be called for by the actual circumstances of the case," and so on. *It reads well, does this humane resolution in print*, and doubtless the intention to squeeze the peasantry only to the extent of their ability to pay is on selfish grounds even sincere enough. *And yet we know that in the face of Imperial necessity—say another Kabul war or Madras famine—the payment of every rupee of revenue due would be enforced so long as the people could be coerced into finding the money.* Moreover, those who know how elaborate is the procedure involved before suspensions and remissions can be obtained, will agree with us that even in times of no financial pressure few officers care to undertake the labour. As a matter of fact, timely suspensions can rarely be given, and, unless timely, much of their utility is lost. Our comment on the Gurgaon case is this. Between 1877 and 1882

NO OFFICER CONNECTED WITH THE DISTRICT SHOWED ANY COURAGE AT ALL;

one strong man could have compelled his superiors to give the starving peasantry proper relief, and as to the Financial Commissioner and even the Lieutenant-Governor of the time, all we can say about them is that both

DISPLAYED A LAMENTABLE IGNORANCE OF FACTS OR INDIFFERENCE TO THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES.

To us the lesson of the whole case appears to be, that for insecure tracts occupied by self-cultivating peasant proprietors a fluctuating system of assessment is the only suitable revenue system. We have held this opinion for the last twenty years, and occasionally put forward our views—so far, we regret to add, with small success.

One word more: we must protest at the unreasonable bulk of the Report and its supplements. It runs to 740 pages, of which nearly half are occupied with figures and statements which will probably be never looked at by an officer now serving in the Punjab Commission. The information contained in them can be of no practical use to anyone except to the officer who will revise the work of Messrs. Channing and Wilson.

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INDIA.

FEBRUARY 13, 1891.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH, THE FRIEND OF MAN.

"Austere he seemed, but the heart
Of all men beat in his breast;
No fetter but galled his wrist,
No wrong that was not his own."

"Ever he faced the storm!
His was the voice that rang
In the fight like a bugle-call,
And yet could be tender and low
As when, on a night in June,
The hushed wind sobs in the pines.
His was the eye that flashed
With a sabre's azure gleam,
Pointing to heights unwon!"

IN a brief poem, from which the above lines are quoted, Mr. T. B. Aldrich, one of the first of American poets and prose writers, pays homage to the work and memory of Wendell Phillips, the Abolitionist orator. The lines most accurately describe the main characteristics of Wendell Phillips' friend, Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., whose untimely decease is little less than an irreparable calamity to the whole people of India and to many communities elsewhere. "The heart of all men beat in his breast." "No fetter but galled his wrist, No wrong that was not his own." Like William Lloyd Garrison, Phillips's great coadjutor and leader, Charles Bradlaugh could proudly take for his motto: "My country is the world: my countrymen are all mankind." Italy, France, Spain, America, India, South Africa—all races, all conditions of men, found in the dead Humanitarian a whole-souled champion. In other quarters and from other pens his great qualities of mind and heart have found, and are finding, fitting recognition. Enough, if here, and in few words, some tribute however poor and inadequate, be paid to Mr. Bradlaugh's magnificent and unexampled labours on behalf of the people of India.

When, early in 1888, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee called upon Mr. Bradlaugh and induced him to undertake the representation of Indian grievances in the House of Commons, a better day's work had never been done for India. Mr. Bradlaugh readily responded to the request. As his speech of 1883 at Northampton shows, and as old records set forth, Mr. Bradlaugh's mind had often turned towards our great Eastern Empire. He was in full sympathy with the aspirations of the people, and, while ready to yield admiration

who are striving to ameliorate, through political organisations, the sorrowful condition of the masses of India. There are only two ways of achieving reforms: by constitutional methods or by revolution. With the latter we have nothing to do, we have nothing to say save words of scornful reprobation. That way lies mischievousness. Mr. Kerry may hold a strongly adverse opinion respecting all such o ganisations as the Congress, and as a Christian missionary decline to take any part save a part which enables him to face North by South and so be enabled to be, at one and the same time, the friend of everybody. But Mr. Kerry should not give his reasons for taking up the attitude which he finds so satisfactory. His lukewarmness commends itself to neither party. The reform movement in India, considering the deplorable condition of the masses of the people and the dreadful economic results of our system of rule, has much in it akin to the movement for the abolition of slavery in America. That is why it is the action of Christian missionaries becomes a proper subject of comment. To find Christian ministers, unmindful of the experience afforded by the struggle in America, either lukewarm or hostile regarding reform is, to earnest men, one of the saddest sights imaginable. The life of a "citizen Christ" is preached as worthy of example; yet is the Christ-like citizen to take no interest whatever in anything that pertains to citizenship! It is to be hoped Mr. Kerry speaks for himself alone among his European and American missionary brethren, and that he does not express the opinion of even a considerable minority. It would be a sad day for the success of Christian missions in India if Kerryism were to become the prevailing spirit among Christian missionaries on that continent.

"OUR INDIAN EMPIRE IN 1891."

The following article, a "leader" which appeared in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, early in January, ought on no account to be overlooked by our readers. It is as pretty a specimen of Anglo-Indianism run mad, of Jingoism *in excelsis*, and of pretentious ignorance, that we have ever perused. By way of emphasizing the kindly spirit and decent language of the article we have "small-capped" a few of the choicest expressions. We quote as follows:—

How vast in the promotion of the happiness, prosperity, and contentment of a people, is the difference between mild but firm and vigorous statesmanship, and that of a weak-kneed, nerveless, and pusillanimous government, was never more conspicuous than in the British India of to-day, under the Unionist Government, when contrasted with its semi-rebellious condition some four or five years ago, under

THE WEAK, FLIPPY-FLOPPY, AND SENTIMENTAL GUIDANCE OF LORD RIPON.

Lord Ripon was, no doubt, a goodmeaning man, but he was destitute of every quality which makes the statesman, and was, consequently, as unfitted to rule our Indian Empire as he would have been to command the British navy or to lead an army into battle without courting disaster. When Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1880, he found himself surrounded by a host of political mediocrities, for whom he had to find well-paid berths; and having proved his incapacity to govern himself in his fiftieth year, by becoming a Roman Catholic, pervert Lord Ripon was forthwith to be pitchforked into the position of our Indian Viceroy, in which capacity he

SPLASHED AWAY IN FINE STYLE, DOING AN INCONCEIVABLE AMOUNT OF MISCHIEF

to our prestige among the two hundred millions of natives whose ill fate it was to be placed in his hands during his official career of five long years. On the other hand, Lord Lytton, his equally popular successor [!!—Ed. *I.*], and Lord Dufferin were both old and well-tried public servants; both were noble men of culture, experience, energy, and decision, and yet men of the kindest and broadest sympathies, who ever held the Indian sceptre, and governed our mighty empire on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges with paternal care and unceasing anxiety. The value of the services these two Viceroys have rendered to India and to the Empire are simply inestimable. Lord Lytton found India on his arrival seriously honeycombed with disloyalty and sedition, and on the very verge of a disastrous insurrection, and he left it quiet, peaceable and contented; and his successor, Lord Dufferin, was equally successful in stamping out the dying embers of discontent entirely by his firm rule, his unfailing good temper, and his unbending resolution never to surrender to the spasmodic threats of appealing to Russia which he heard around him. If we turn to the reports of the National Indian Council—a kind of copy of the rebellious Land League of Ireland during Lord Ripon's rule—and contrast it with that of the proceedings of the same native gathering a few days ago, we shall be better able to estimate the value of the beneficial rule of the Unionist Government and her able Viceroys.

THESE ANNUAL ASSEMBLIES HAD, UP TO 1885, BEEN OF A WILD, TURBULENT, REVOLUTIONARY, AND SEDITIOUS CHARACTER,

which showed but too plainly that discontent among the Baboos had eaten its way like a canker among them, and Lord Ripon's sentimental encouragement of their wild talk had filled their minds with the idea that England was to be frightened by bluster into handing over the administration of Hindostan to a pack of noisy agitators who were crying out "India for the Indians!" The fanatics, who thought to terrify both the English and Indian Governments by their silly chatter and abuse, were also encouraged in their wild ideas by the belligerent tone of the vernacular press, whose whole duty seemed to be to heap scurrilous abuse of the most atrocious kind upon this country and its Government. Lord Beaconsfield had placed a curb on these

DISGRACEFUL NATIVE NEWSPAPERS,

which inflamed the passions of the ignorant natives, and would undoubtedly have led to another revolt against English rule; but the first thing Mr. Gladstone did in 1880 was to remove the restrictions Lord Beaconsfield was compelled to impose upon

THESE REBEL AND LIBELLOUS NEWSPAPERS,

which again revelled in all their licentious abuse upon England, the Queen, and the Government. Seeing that Mr. Gladstone had, under the pressure of party exigencies, proposed to hand over the administration of Ireland to a crew of needy Irish agitators, the same kind of

CHATTERING PATRIOTS IN BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA

saw no reason why they should not undertake the government of India, and control the native army and the police. It was at this lucky juncture that Mr. Gladstone's Government collapsed upon his Home Rule craze, and

LORD SALISBURY CAME INTO POWER, AND HAPPILY MADE LORD LYTTON VICEROY,

but the mischief of Lord Ripon's weak and shifty policy remained to be successfully check-mated by his successor's statesmanship. It naturally took some time to cool down the hopes and passions which had been excited, and to prove the unreasonableness of the demands upon the Home Government; but patience, good temper, and unwearying watchfulness won the day, and the sixth meeting of the National Indian Council, a few days ago, was characterised by a tone of exceptional moderation, instead of the seditious and revolutionary language which, for the last four or five years, had disgraced its proceedings. The most noteworthy point in the address of the president was his emphatic repudiation of the demand for representative institutions, which was the sheet-anchor of this agitation. Even the people at last saw that

THE INDIAN "REFORMER,"

like the penniless Irish agitator,

WAS SELFISHLY HUNGERING AFTER THE LOAVES AND THE FISHES OF OFFICE,

and when this became fully understood, the subscriptions fell off by which the agitation pot was kept boiling, and

THE NATIONAL INDIAN CONGRESS,

about which such a fuss was made,

HAS PRACTICALLY BROKEN DOWN.

That it should altogether collapse is not, perhaps, to be desired, since it acts as a safety-valve to native opinions, which may well be encouraged within certain bounds. There are so many social reforms of pressing urgency required in India, that an opportunity may well be given for their ventilation. The infant marriage question; the improvement of agriculture; the abolition of the salt duty; and the development of once prosperous but now decayed industries—like that of the cultivation and manufacture of silk—are clearly subjects which educated native opinion can dispassionately discuss to the benefit of the country without running the risk of endangering the stability of British rule in India.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S LAST MOMENTS.

The bad night of Thursday (Jan. 22nd) left him wearied and depressed on Friday. On Friday night there came the hemiplegia and its subsequent unconsciousness. On Saturday I had to get in the second nurse. On Saturday night the brain partially recovered, but never again was my father wholly conscious. He always knew me and always responded to my voice up till the evening of the last day; but his mind wandered: his "little book on 'Law and Labour'" was "just out"—he would find health in another trip to Bombay and back—he would go to Loch Long—he would fish some "back water"—or now and again he would check the figures in "General" Booth's accounts. With the exception of the last, all were happy thoughts, and happily said.

When Dr. Hunter's telegram telling of success reached me on Tuesday night it was anguish unspeakable to withhold the news from him. I dared not take the risk of rousing him on a subject so near his heart. I could rouse him, and did so inadvertently once or twice on unimportant matters, but this was altogether different. On the Thursday I mentioned in his hearing that I had just been called to see a friend from Northampton. "What did you say?", he asked. "Some Northampton people have come to inquire after you," I replied. "Poor fellows, poor fellows," he said; and thenceforward he had Northampton in his mind, and, just before I left him to get a little lunch, he was anxious to "write to Campion to make an appointment for Monday." When I came back after a very short absence there was a marked change for the worse, and I sent for the doctor. In the evening his breathing became very laboured and painful to listen to, but about 10 o'clock it grew a little easier, and was never again so laboured as in the early evening. The doctor's ominous words, "Any relatives or anyone who has a right to know should be apprised of his condition," struck a chill to my heart, although I already knew that he was dying, and had warned those whom it nearly concerned in the afternoon. . . . He lay in a state of coma from the early evening until 6.30 on Friday morning, when just as the minute hand of his watch touched the half-hour he drew his last breath.

Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner.

(*Continued from page* 51.)

powers at their disposal for the purpose. If it is not seditious, their attitude towards it is contemptible and unworthy of the great traditions of the Indian Civil Service. No one could desire that Government servants should enter into the arena of Indian politics, or sit as delegates to the Congress; but to forbid them to pay a rupee for a seat in the gallery, or accept complimentary tickets for space specially reserved for neutral visitors, is as insulting to the Civil Service as it is to the Congress itself. Lord Connemara was more far-seeing than Lord Lansdowne, for when the Congress met at Madras in 1887, he gave a garden party, as the invitation stated, "in honour of the president, and those distinguished Indians who are the delegates to the Congress." What has transpired since 1887 to justify such a change of attitude on the part of the authorities? I affirm without hesitation that it is impossible to point out a single sentence uttered by a single speaker at any of the six Congresses that could by the mightiest stretch of imagination be construed into sedition. So far as the Congress lecturers are concerned, we have yet to receive the first complaint from Government. If it could be shown that they talk sedition, they would get nothing by it but summary dismissal. Bearing in mind the fact that the very first who would suffer from any damage to the prestige of British over-rule, and who would perish hopelessly if it were overturned, are those men who form the backbone of the Congress movement, it is difficult to understand this fatuous opposition to a movement which, rightly guided and encouraged, would be rather a strong prop to the Government than any weakness. I shall wait with interest to see whether or no this prohibition will apply equally to that ultra-political gathering known in England as well as India by the name of "the St. Andrew's Dinner," the popular resort hitherto of Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors. The passing of this resolution closed Monday's sitting, which was adjourned to one o'clock on Tuesday.

THE PROPOSED GATHERING IN ENGLAND IN 1892.

The last Session of Congress was devoted to votes of thanks, in which Indian gatherings are somewhat effusive, sundry formal necessary business, and the settlement of the place where the ensuing Congress was to be held. This latter was left to the standing committee to decide, there being rival invitations from Madras and Nagpore. One resolution, however, was brought forward that stirred the Congress to its very heart, and gave rise to the most remarkable discussion of all:—"That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress of not less than 100 delegates, in England, all things being convenient, in 1892, and that the several standing Congress Committees be directed to report at the coming Congress the names of the delegates that it is proposed to depute from their respective circles."

It had been feared by the inner ring of the Congress that the difficulty of getting high caste Hindus to cross the sea, with all that such a step involves to them, would destroy the representative character of a Congress to be held in England, which for some months past has been discussed owing to the necessity for giving British politicians an object lesson in what are the real aims and actual constitution of the Indian National Congress. The resolution was therefore brought forward tentatively and cautiously by Mr. Norendra Nath Sen, the editor of the *Mirror*. To our astonishment and satisfaction no fewer than fourteen orthodox Hindus, many of them notable for their extreme orthodoxy, sprang up one after the other to make warm speeches in favour of the resolution, and to declare their willingness to go themselves; a Mahratta Brahman bringing down the House by declaring that "history proved beyond a doubt that Mahratta Brahmans had never allowed their political advancement to be hindered by caste rules." A sharp point was given to most of the speeches by constant reference to the Governor's circular, one speaker delighting everybody with a declaration that their "beloved Queen-Empress was far more likely to invite them all to see her at Windsor Castle than to issue a proclamation forbidding her Secretaries of State and her walking postmen from attending the meetings of the Congress." A hearty welcome was promised on behalf of the Congress Committee in London, and the resolution was carried without a dissentient, marking a step in advance on the part of Hindu society of the very deepest significance.

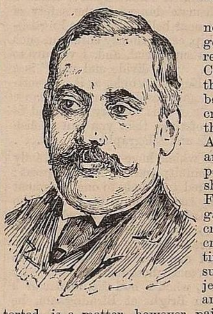
The Sixth Congress was then brought to a close by a well-earned and hearty vote of thanks to its President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, moved by Mrs. Ganguli, M.D., in a very charming and appropriate manner. That an audience containing at least 5,000 Hindus should rise and cheer a Hindu lady making a speech to 6,000 men would indeed have appeared incredible five years ago—at any rate in Bengal. The President called for and obtained three lusty cheers for the Queen-Empress, and formally dissolved the Congress, which has in no whit fallen behind any of its predecessors in wisdom, judgment, statesmanship, or forensic ability.

The educational policy of the Government, the concession of a free press, and the right of public meeting, has at last produced a generation of Indians filled with the social and political teaching of the most advanced minds of Europe and America, and developed political life for the first time in the history of India. It has given birth to twins; and, like political life everywhere, two political parties have sprung into existence. The Liberal party consists of every man who as a lad has been taught English in Anglo-vernacular schools, and grown to manhood under the shadow of the great Indian Universities; the Conservative consists of the Anglo-Indian community, and its hangers-on, with a few honourable exceptions like Mr. Cotton, the brilliant author of "New India." The "Liberal" party will win, in the long run, as it always has done in every country in the world. No sane man can suggest even that Parliamentary institutions, as we understand them in England, will be possible or suitable for India for many generations. But the Congress makes no such demand. All it asks for is, that the native element now admitted to the Legislative Councils of the Viceroy and provincial governors, shall be elected instead of selected. Surely it cannot be a hindrance, but only a help to any Government that its best and most capable citizens should be chosen by their fellows to render assistance in making and mending the laws, and criticising their administration. The wildest Congress-wallah has never asked for more than half the members of the Legislative Councils, leaving the Government with a standing majority by the casting vote of the Governor; while still leaving the Executive entirely in the hands of the British over-rule.

The foolish attitude of the Government towards the Congress, and the unreasonable violence of the official press, cannot retard its progress, and by choking off the more moderate and cautious will only throw its guidance into the hands of the more advanced enthusiastic of its supporters. It has already forced an appeal to the good sense and calm judgment of England by the projected Congress in London.

If the Congress movement continues to be conducted with the loyalty, patience, moderation, and good sense that has hitherto characterised its proceedings, it cannot be long before the legislative councils of India will at any rate be partly composed of members elected by some constituency which will consist of such of the people as by education and other qualification may be safely entrusted with a carefully-guarded franchise. More than this the Congress neither expects nor demands.

A WELCOME TO THE DELEGATES BY MR. MANOMOHUN GHOSE.



It is, I think, fitting that I should not sit down without making some general observations as regards the real aims and objects of the National Congress, and our course of action in the future. Our proceedings have been subjected to much and varied criticism, and, for my part, I am glad that that should have been the case. All our proceedings, our discussions, and our resolutions are public property, and it is only right that they should be subjected to public scrutiny. For I believe we have everything to gain and nothing to lose from honest criticism, however unfavourable such criticism may be. That besides legitimate criticism, the proceedings of such a body as ours should be subjected to vile and unworthy attacks, and our aims misrepresented and distorted, is a matter, however painful to us all, which ought not to discourage and dishearten us; for what great cause in the history of this world has ever triumphed without in the first instance having met with unworthy and even rancorous opposition? Our opponents have not even hesitated to accuse the promoters of this movement with disloyalty to the British Government. If I could bring myself to believe that this accusation, however unfounded, has been honestly preferred by those who are responsible for starting it, I should have felt myself called upon to deal with it seriously; but the charge has always seemed to me so preposterous and so dishonest on the part, at any rate, of a large portion of our detractors, that I should think every speaker in this hall ought to treat it with silent contempt. There is, I believe, no one present here, who, in his heart of hearts, does not feel that at no period in the history of India were life and property more secure than they are at the present day. If English rule in India had done nothing more than that, we should even then have ample reason to be grateful to England, for, as you know, the establishment of peace and the maintenance of law and order are the first requisites for the happiness of a people. To my mind, our allegiance to the British Government is based, not only on the feeling of gratitude which the benefits conferred upon us must evoke in our hearts, but also upon the highest grounds of expediency; for every sane man in India who is capable of thinking must feel that any change of Government at the present time would be the greatest calamity that could befall the people of this country. That we should have been better pleased if we could have governed ourselves as well as we are governed by England, is a sentiment which we need not in the least shrink from avowing, because not only is such a feeling natural, but it is perfectly consistent to my mind with true loyalty to England.

The National Congress movement was fittingly described last year by my friend Mr. Perozeshah Mehta, while welcoming the delegates in Bombay, as the "grandest outcome of British rule in India". To that description, I will venture to add that it is also the natural, and, indeed, the inevitable outcome of the generous policy pursued by England in this country. The fact which we all gratefully acknowledge, namely, that India is now better governed than before, or the fact that no other Asiatic country is at the present time better governed, furnishes no argument whatever against the demands made by us with the sole object of improving the administration of the country. The English people have no right to complain if we refuse to judge of their acts and professions as rulers of this country, by any standard lower

to what his countrymen had done in the way of administration and material works, was not prepared to place his judgment on the results of what they had done and his opinion of the things they had left undone, in their keeping. He knew that those who take this course and who think for themselves were certain to be greatly misrepresented, but he cared naught for that. He was, as he candidly confessed, unacquainted with the details of life and administration in India. But that was a deficiency he would soon remedy. Ever greedy for facts he soon got the better of this disqualification, and was at the time his fatal illness seized him, master of many economic truths of the greatest importance. The Indian problem in all its terrible seriousness, and in the overpowering masterfulness with which it seizes upon those who really try to solve it, had, at length, possessed him. It is not going too far to say that his work during the present Session would, in volume and value, have far exceeded all that he has done in the three years during which he has borne without reproach the title of "Member for India". Among other things he would have made a stout fight for a Royal Commission of Enquiry into the working of our Administration in India, especially in relation to the condition of the masses of the people. The form of the motion and the plan of campaign to be adopted, were under discussion, and were to have been settled in the very week which proved to be the last he was to live. The latest letter he wrote to a coadjutor had reference to this matter. Had Mr. Bradlaugh been able to carry out his project, and had he secured the appointment of a Royal Commission, the magnitude of the beneficent results which would certainly have followed would have served to eclipse even the splendid successes achieved in the past. He saved the lives of many thousands of his fellow-subjects in Ganjam; he made the Government of India perform an act of righteousness in the restoration of the Famine Fund: he achieved a host of minor triumphs on behalf of all classes of the community in India. But, all combined, these achievements would have weighed but lightly in the balance compared with what he expected the Royal Commission to accomplish. Mr. Bradlaugh believed that it would be possible to incontestably prove before such a tribunal that the condition of the masses of India, under our present mode of rule, is most deplorable, is daily growing worse, and that only large means speedily employed, could serve to avert a catastrophe the like of which the world has never seen. He, further, believed that once the facts proving this conclusion were placed upon the indisputable basis of a Royal Commission's enquiry the heart of the English people would be stirred, and their judgment convinced. When this was achieved, effectual help for India would not be long delayed.

This magnificent project was doomed to disappointment. Owing to Charles Bradlaugh's death occurring when it did, it is no exaggeration to say, millions of our fellow-subjects will die needless and untimely deaths. What he aimed to accomplish will be accomplished one day in the not far distant future. But, in the meantime, literally millions of the Queen's subjects will perish; before it is recognised that remedies are needed hosts of Britain's slain will pass into eternity, a shameful testimony to our misrule. Charles Bradlaugh's death is a calamity, the magnitude of which cannot be overstated. In another aspect, too, his work in the current Session promised to be very fruitful. "Man does not live by bread alone," and while Mr. Bradlaugh was anxious to secure for the impoverished Indian a reasonable hope of daily bread, he also desired to improve his political and social condition. As the accredited representative of the Indian National Congress he could have done great things. He would not, it is true, in the present Parliament, have succeeded in passing the Congress Bill, but he would have secured so much of Liberal help as to make its passing a certainty in the next Parliament. More than that, his powerful personality and immense influence would have checked certain timorous proposals now being made on the Opposition Front Bench before they had time to do mischief. Mr. Bradlaugh has been removed from his great and useful position at the most inauspicious moment conceivable. When, in all human probability, he was at the beginning of a series of most beneficent projects the weapons have fallen from his hand, his arm is lifeless, his hopes and determinations are dead. The loss to India is great. Despair almost might enter the hearts of reformers. But, to encourage despair would be supremest folly. Dark as are our prospects in consequence of Mr. Bradlaugh's death his own fortunes many a time were much darker and loomed in more gigantic form an apparently-impassable barrier in his path. If we only take for ourselves the unswerving faith and the unconquerable determination which enabled our departed Leader to achieve so much, we too shall succeed: at the same time we shall show that we have not been unworthy of such leadership as we have been honoured with, and that we have, in some measure, caught the inspiration of Charles Bradlaugh's example. Taking care that his life finds expression in ours, we shall, at one and the same time, obtain our object, and secure for the late Member for India that immortality for which alone his soul yearned, and thus perpetuate his work of usefulness on behalf of suffering humanity.

INDIAN COUNCILS' REFORM.

The cause is progressing. It is true the Congress Bill has not yet been read a second time. An important labour debate crowded it out on the 28th ultimo. But, progress has, all the same, been made. The Liberal Party has, officially, exhibited towards the Congress desire for elective institutions of a partial character a special mark of favour and approval. On the day Mr. Gladstone arrived in town, the Chief Whip of the Liberal Party saw him, and received instructions to issue a summons to Liberal members to support Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill. What is known as a three-line whip was issued. It was in these terms:

"Your attendance is particularly requested in the House of Commons on Tuesday, January 27, when the motion relating to the Parliamentary Oath will be considered; and

"On Wednesday, January 28, at 12 o'clock, when the second reading of the Conspiracy Law Amendment Bill and the Indian Councils' Amendment Bill will be moved and important divisions will be taken.

"Arnold Morley."

After this overt act of patronage and good wishes there should be no doubt as to the active support of the Liberal Party being accorded to the amendments which will be moved to the second reading of the Government Bill and to nearly every clause of that measure when it reaches the Committee stage.

The Congress Bill remains on the Order Book of the House of Commons. It is improbable, however, that it will have a chance of being discussed. Recognising this Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, at the request of the British Committee of the Congress, has given notice of the following amendment:—

> "On second reading of Indian Councils' Act (1861) Amendment (No. 2) Bill, to move, That this House expresses its regret that, in proposing by this Bill to increase the number of the additional members of the Indian Councils for making laws and regulations, no recognition is given to the elective principle."

Mr. Seymour Keay has given notice of an amendment in identical terms. Mr. J. M. Maclean, this year as last, means mischief, and has tabled the following:—

> "As amendments to Mr. Walter M'Laren's motion on second reading of Indian Councils' Act (1861) Amendment (No. 2) Bill:—
>
> "Line 2, leave out 'regret,' and insert 'satisfaction.'
>
> "Line 5, at end, add 'which is unsuited to the character of the native population, and would be injurious to the interests of English rule in India."

At the time of writing (Feb. 9) it does not appear when the Government Bill will come on for second reading. Sir John Gorst expected the second reading stage would be reached on February 2nd, and was prepared with the great speech he has long had ready with which to launch the puny measure he hopes this Session to carry through Parliament.

MISSIONARIES IN INDIA AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The Rev. G. Kerry, Baptist missionary, of Calcutta, has been led to discuss the question of the relations which missionaries should bear to political movements in India. Mr. Kali Charan Banerjee, an Indian Christian, whom we shall shortly welcome to this country as a Congress delegate, and who will be his own best commendator wherever he goes, referred, at a meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, to the Congress as "one of the indirect and good results of missionary work in India." This remark, and some criticisms from other quarters, notably from Mr. Caine, has led Mr. Kerry to deal with the whole subject. Mr. Kerry's paper is before us. It has evidently been written with great care; the writer strives to maintain a judicial attitude throughout: it is clearly not his fault that he altogether fails in his object. Mr. Kerry is clearly animated by good intentions. He would not, for worlds, say anything which should seem to imply that the Congress was not needed or was not doing good work. But he will not join it. He holds his balancing pole too firmly to sway so much on one side. Nor, on the contrary, could anything induce him to throw in his lot with those who are opposed to the organisation. Why? Because very often angry passions are aroused in political circles and men become heated and say unkind things of and to one another. Perfectly true. But the remark is as true of Christian Churches as it is of political organisations, and has been true of them from the time when the Apostle Paul rebuked the bickerings, and worse than bickerings, in the early Church to the days when "Hastie" proceedings in Calcutta convulsed the Christian communities there. On his own grounds, therefore, Mr. Kerry must find himself awkwardly placed in his present position as a missionary pastor.

Mr. Kerry says some very strange things and some very unsatisfactory things—to use exact words in both cases—in his paper. He declares, for example, that, as a result of agitation, "the people will be no happier or better off." There is hardihood of a remarkable kind in that expression, seeing what agitation has done in Mr. Kerry's own country for those who have taken part in it, making millions better off in this world's goods and happier all round. Besides, are not the British people better off and happier through the success of Mr. Caine's agitation last year against Mr. Goschen's proposals to endow the British public-house? Mr. Kerry will scarcely say "No." Are not the people of Benares who, as the result of Mr. Caine's work in India, have given up consuming intoxicating drinks, likely soon to be better off? Again: does Mr. Kerry think that if the people of the Gurgaon district in the Panjab, whose awful story is so powerfully told by the *Pioneer* in our columns to-day, had possessed an organisation to agitate against injustice such as the Indian National Congress, a few years ago, eighty thousand of them would have been allowed to "disappear", that nearly all would have let themselves be reduced to such a condition that when a good harvest came they had hardly strength to gather it? Or, that they would tamely have submitted to the loss of one hundred and fifty thousand head of cattle?

The worst feature in the article, however, is the assumption of infallibility conveyed in these sentences: "I think we shall do our part on the whole well, if it be clearly known and understood, that we are always, and because of our Christian faith, on the side of right and against the side of wrong. This, I believe, is known generally now, and should be known as clearly in the future." "Always on the side of right and against the side of wrong"! Is it indeed the fact that Mr. Kerry and his brother missionaries are always to the front when gross wrongs are done in India, that they are ever battling bravely for the right? If it is true, then have they lamentably failed to make their noble conduct manifest. The Scriptural "bushel" has hidden their light in the most effectual manner. Except when the late Rev. James Long espoused, nearly thirty years ago, the cause of the Indigo ryots and suffered imprisonment in consequence, missionaries have not been conspicuous—in India at least—as champions of right and as denouncers of wrong. But, surely Mr. Kerry will not attempt to maintain his assertion so far as Christian ministers generally are concerned,. Was slavery in the United States wrong? Mr. Kerry could have no hesitation in saying that it was of the devil, devilish. Yet, how many Baptist ministers north and south of Dixie's Line, helped William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips in their crusade against that terrible iniquity? Hardly one among a thousand. Why, it was the ministers of Christian churches and the Churches themselves which constituted the greatest obstacles to the achievement of liberty for the captives on Southern plantations. Yet, "we are always, *and because of our Christian faith*, on the side of right and against the side of wrong." Mr. Kerry is a daring man, daring even to culpable rashness. He has a perfect right to give his support to, or withhold his support from, such an organisation as the Congress. But he is not above criticism; for, if the teachings of his religion are really meant for practical, everyday life, then his place is clearly in the ranks of those

than what they themselves have taught us to respect and admire. If England has been instrumental in teaching an Asiatic people a higher code of political morality, she can scarcely complain, with any show of reason, if we expect her strictly to adhere to that code in the Government of her own dependencies, and to carry out the professions and declarations which have from time to time been made in her name and on her behalf. The great demonstration of to-day, I think we are all agreed, implies nothing more than this, that much as England has done for us she has yet a great deal more to do, or, in other words, that the administration of India is not perfect, but that there is still considerable room for improvement and reform. This, I believe, to be the keystone of this great national movement. It is not a movement intended in the slightest degree to embarrass or hamper the Government of the country, but to assist that Government by every means in the great and difficult task in which it is engaged. Viewed in this light—and I am sure you all agree with me that it is our most anxious desire that it should be viewed in no other light—I fail to understand how it is that we have not yet met with a sympathetic recognition at the hands of those who are responsible for the good government of this country. It is impossible in any country to carry on the work of government for any length of time, without consulting the wishes and wants of those who are governed, and it is obvious that when the government of a country is practically in the hands of a foreign people it is all the more necessary for that government, and, indeed it is its duty, if it is to exist for any good purpose, to ascertain the wishes and even the aspirations of those who are governed. If such is the duty cast upon those who are called upon to govern, it is equally the duty of the people themselves to acquaint the government, by all constitutional means, with their own wishes and their requirements. We are not so unreasonable as to expect that all our suggestions should be at once carried out, or that all our demands should be at once granted without due consideration. All that we desire is that our suggestions should be honestly and sympathetically considered, and if difficulties which we ourselves may fail to perceive, should deter the government of the day from acceding to any of our wishes, we may be taken into the confidence of the government, so to speak, in order that we may be in a position to help it, if we can, in grappling with those difficulties. This, I believe, is the true position which the National Congress in India desires to occupy. An idea is said to prevail among certain officials in the vicinity of Whitehall, as well as in this country, to the effect that the supremacy of England in India is mainly based upon the disunion of the different races existing in this country, and that any attempt to unite them, even to a limited extent upon a common political platform, is fraught with ultimate danger to the safety of the British Empire. I cannot for a moment believe that any Englishman, having any claims to statesmanship, can seriously entertain such an idea, based as it is, altogether upon a superficial, and, I venture to think, an erroneous conception of facts. "To divide and rule" is a wicked policy as unworthy of the great English people, as it is practically impossible after what they have themselves done for us; because you can no more keep the different races of this country disunited in feelings and sentiments for any length of time, than you can abolish your schools and colleges, your railroads and telegraphs. . . . . . .

I have thus far dealt with criticisms which have emanated chiefly from members of the Anglo-Indian community and the English press; but before I conclude, I may be permitted to allude to one argument which I have sometimes heard used by some of our own people who are in sympathy with the Congress. I have heard it asked "what good result has the Congress secured to us?" To those desponding spirits among us who are apt to indulge in such an argument, I cannot do better than reply in the words of one who spent his noble life in agitating for the good of his country, and whose name is deservedly cherished by us all in India. In 1885, when I had the honour of a long interview with the late Mr. John Bright at Birmingham, he told me, as I was coming away, "Tell your people on your return home that they must not expect immediate results, nor must they lose heart if they do not get what they want. The English people themselves have not obtained any concession from their own Government without long and persistent agitation. It took Cobden and myself nearly thirty years to get the Corn Laws repealed. Tell your people as coming from me, that they do not deserve to succeed if they expect immediate results". I trust that this message, sent to us by that great champion of our rights a few years before his death, will encourage you all to persevere in the great cause which you have taken up. Remember that this is only the beginning of a great struggle, and that these annual gatherings are but physical representations of that great and wonderful national awakening which is taking place everywhere in India.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

THE MODERATION OF THE CONGRESS DEMANDS.

It is made clear that we have not learnt the lessons of history so badly, as to demand the introduction of the full-blown representative institutions which in England have been the growth of centuries. It is made clear that we have not asked for even such a modicum, as was enjoyed by the English people even before the time of Simon de Montfort, more than five centuries ago, nay, that we have not asked even for representative institutions of a governing or ruling character at all. Indeed, so far as this historical argument is concerned, we have not only proved that we have not only not been guilty of disregarding it, but we have been successful in turning the tables upon our adversaries. We have shown that it is they who defy the lessons of history and experience, when they talk of waiting to make a beginning till the masses of the people are fully equipped with all the virtues and all the qualifications which adorn the citizens of Utopia; in fact, till a millennium has set in, when we would hardly require such institutions at all. We have shown that people who indulge in such vain talk, have never understood the laws of human progress, which, after all, is a series of experiments, and in which men and institutions react upon each other for their improvement and perfection. We have also proved that, in spite of our education and even with our racial and religious differences, the "microscopic minority" can far better and far more intuitively represent the needs and aspirations of their own countrymen than the still more microscopic minority of the imaginary district officers, whose colloquial knowledge of the Indian languages seldom rises above the knowledge of English possessed by French waiters at Paris Hotels, which proudly blazon forth the legend: "*Ici on parle Anglais*"; and whose knowledge of native domestic and social life, and ways and habits of thought, seldom extends beyond flattering expressions of the *saheb's* greatness and paternal care, sometimes inspired by courtesy and sometimes by interest.

AN AMUSING STORY

was related to me of a little incident that occurred only the other day, which is not without instruction as illustrating the amount of knowledge possessed by Anglo-Indians of the people among whom they have moved for years. The wife of a member of Parliament come out on a visit to India this year—herself as distinguished as her husband for her kindly sympathy in Indian welfare—was sitting at dinner next to a learned member of my profession, who in the course of conversation grew humourous and sarcastic by turn, in the fashion of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, on the ridiculous and outrageous pretensions of globe trotters to know the country and its people better than Anglo-Indians who had lived in it for years. He was rattling away, well satisfied with himself and the impression he thought he was producing on the lady, when with the sweetest of smiles she gently asked him how long he had been himself in India. "Fifteen years—more or less"—was the answer. "I suppose you know Mr. ——" naming a gentleman whose recent elevation to the Bench of one of our High Courts was received everywhere with pleasure and approbation. "Of course I do", said his brother in the same profession. "Can you tell me if he has only one wife or more than one?" Slowly came the answer, "No I can't." "I have been only a few days in the country", said the lady quietly, "and yet I think I know a thing or two which you don't." I trust my learned friend, who is the hero of this story, was properly grateful to the lady for giving him some serious food for reflection.

THE INDIAN TEMPERANCE CAUSE AND ITS CHAMPION.

The abkari cause is also safe in the custody of that redoubtable champion, of whose formidable prowess you can form some idea, when you remember that it was he who so completely put to rout Mr. Goschen's Compensation Clauses. It is a matter of no small congratulation to us to welcome Mr. Caine as one of our own Delegates. He first came out to this country with a free and open mind on the Congress question; with that fearless independence which characterises him, and which always when I see him recalls to my mind those famous lines of Burns', "The man of independent mind, is king of men for a' that," he went for his education to Aligarh. Thanks to Mr. Theodore Beck and Sir Syed Ahmed he has come to us, not only a staunch congressman in principles, but, as one of the members of the British Committee of the Congress in London, he has thrown his indomitable energy and his highed-souled advocacy into active support of the movement. Mr. Caine can truly boast that, if he has not succeeded in extorting from the most zealous abkari officers the confession that they are Bacchus and his crew in disguise, they dare not, at least, throw off their masks, while his watchful eye is upon them, but they must continue to do penance in the assumed garb of uncomfortable and uncongenial principles. Leaving Christian to continue his combat with Apollyon, it is when we come to

THE CENTRAL PROPOSAL OF THE CONGRESS, REGARDING THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

for the purpose of expanding and putting life in them, that we can congratulate ourselves on being on the verge of an important victory. Many have been the circumstances, and many the forces and influences that have contributed to this result. First and foremost among them is the circumstance, that without legal votes and legal qualifications, we have had the good fortune to return a member to Parliament. Do not imagine gentlemen, that Dadabhai Naoroji or Lalmohun Ghose have at length been returned. But what member, even if we had the direct franchise, could have served us as

MR. BRADLAUGH

has done during the last twelve months? (Loud applause). To say that the whole country is grateful to him for the untiring energy, the indefatigable care, the remarkable ability, with which he has watched and worked for its best interests in that House, where he has achieved so honourable a position for himself, can only most imperfectly express the depth and extent of the sentiments that are felt for him throughout the length and breadth of the land. His name has literally become a household word. (Cheers.)

HE IS RAISING UP TO HIMSELF A MEMORIAL IN THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

which will reflect more lustre on his name than titles and orders, and endure longer than monuments of brass or marble. We have been fortunate indeed in securing the sympathies of such a champion. No sooner did he return to England than he at once proceeded to redeem the promise he had made in that behalf, by introducing in the House of Commons his Indian Councils Reform Bill, drawn on the lines which were sketched and formulated at the last Congress, and with which you are all familiar, under its justly deserved brief designation of the Madras scheme. Two important results were the immediate outcome of this step. The scheme which was thus propounded, was in its nature a tentative measure, so far as its details were concerned, and it at once drew forth useful and guiding criticism. In several respects its scope was misunderstood, especially as regards its supposed sweeping character, which might have been avoided had we specified in the Congress skeleton sketch the restrictive limitations hedging the qualifications of the electorate. The criticisms of men like Sir William Hunter and Sir Richard Garth, for whose thoughtful, sympathetic, and friendly attitude towards Indian progress we are always so deeply grateful, exposed however, one defect demanding serious consideration, viz., that the scheme was laid on new lines, and had a somewhat theoretical air, which Englishmen rather fight shy of in practical politics. In justice to the scheme, however, it should be said that Sir Richard Garth put his finger on a possible, rather than a probable, result when he thought that it would enable the Hindus to submerge the other Indian communities. Experience has shown that even in a preponderating Hindu electorate, it does not happen that Hindus only are elected, as so many other besides racial forces and

interests concur in influencing the selection. If we may apply the lessons learned from experience in municipal elections, I may mention the remarkable fact that in the Town Council, or what is now called the Standing Committee of the Bombay Corporation, composed of twelve members, there have been frequently five Parsis, three Europeans, two Hindus, and two Muhammadans. Sir Richard Garth's criticism, on this point, however, throws out a warning which should not be hastily disregarded.

LORD SALISBURY'S "UNMEASURED PHRASES" AND "SWEEPING ASSERTIONS."

But the next result, which the introduction of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill achieved, was gratifying in the highest degree. It at once dispelled the fit of profound cogitation, in which men at the head of Indian affairs are so apt to be lost that they can never spontaneously recover from it. Lord Cross's Indian Councils Bill promptly saw the light of day in the House of Lords. It was at once the official recognition of the *raison d'etre* of the Congress, and the first fruits of its labours. (Cheers.) In itself, however, it was a most halting and unsatisfactory measure. In framing it the Prime Minister and the Indian Secretary of State, seem to have been pervaded with a conception of the Indian people as a sort of Oliver Twist, always asking for more, to whom it would be therefore a piece of prudent policy to begin with offering as little as possible. (Cries of "Shame!") The Government Bill may be aptly described as a most superb steam-engine, in which the necessary material to generate steam was carefully excluded, substituting in its place coloured shams to look like it. (Laughter.) The rights of interpellation and of the discussion of the Budget were granted, but the living forces of the elective principle which alone could properly work them, were not breathed into the organisation of the enlarged councils. The omission of the elective principle from the Bill was boldly justified by Lord Salisbury on the ground that "the principle of election or government by representation was not an Eastern idea, and that it did not fit Eastern traditions or Eastern minds". I wish to speak of his Lordship with all the respect to which his high talents and great intellectual attainments justly entitle him; but it is not a little surprising as well as disappointing to find that a statesman who, as Lord Cranborne, was once Secretary of State for India, should display such profound ignorance of the history of the Indian people and the genius of the Indian mind. The late Mr. Chisholm Anstey, a man of immense erudition, once pointed out at a meeting of the East India Association in London that, "we are apt to forget in this country (England) when we talk of preparing people in the East, by education and all that sort of thing, for Municipal Government and Parliamentary Government, that the East is the parent of municipalities. Local self-Government, in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from west to east, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network so that you have ready made to your hand the framework of a great system of representation". Sir Henry Maine has shown that the Teutonic Mark was hardly so well organized or representative as an Indian village community, till the precise technical Roman form was engrafted upon it. But, leaving village communities alone, what do we find at the present day, over the whole country, but all sorts and conditions of people, from the highest to the lowest, meeting together and transacting the business of their numberless castes in assemblies which, in their constitution and their mode of working, are the exact prototypes of the Saxon Witans, from which the English Parliamentary institutions have sprung. It is true that circumstances never allowed the representative genius of the people to develop forms and organizations for higher political functions. But it is no less true that the seed and the soil are there waiting only for the skilful hand, and the watchful mind, which we of the Congress firmly believe we have secured in the presence of Englishmen in this country. (Hear, hear.) The disdainful attitude of Lord Salisbury, as to our aptitude for representative institutions, need, however, bring no despair to our minds. His late chief, Lord Beaconsfield, once said of him on a memorable occasion, that he was a man who never measured his phrases or his sweeping assertions. On the contrary, I draw an augury of good hope from his pronouncement, and that made by his son Lord Hugh Cecil, that "the Indian was not only a good Government but it was probably the best conceivable Government that the population could possibly live under". On the eve of the passing of the great English Reform Bill, the Duke of Wellington, then the Tory Prime Minister, proclaimed in the same House of Lords that the existing constitution of the House of Commons was perfect and that the wit of man could not *a priori* have devised anything so perfect. The declaration was received by the Liberals as a sure portent of victory, and the Reform Bill was passed within little more than a year after. I trust that the Salisbury pronouncement may prove prophetic in the same way.

THE OLD AND THE NEW CONGRESS BILLS.

As soon as Lord Cross's Bill reached the House of Commons, Mr. Bradlaugh fastened on it at once. It was true that he had his own Bill there, but Mr. Bradlaugh is a master of Parliamentary tactics, inferior only to Mr. Gladstone. He at once perceived that the supreme struggle was to be no more between one scheme and another, between territorial electorates or local boards, but that every nerve would have to be strained and every resource husbanded, to obtain in the first place recognition of the elective principle. That secured, everything else would follow in its own good time. With a masterly comprehension of the situation, he placed before the House amendments to the Bill directed to substitute the process of election for that of nomination. The Bill and the amendments have, however, all gone the way of the majority, and the session closed without the opportunity of discussing them. Profiting, however, by the lessons in which the experience of the last twelve months was prolific, both without and within the walls of Parliament, Mr. Bradlaugh has hit upon the notable expedient of ploughing with Lord Cross's heifers. (Hear, hear.) He has already introduced a new Bill, based on the same lines as Lord Cross's Bill, but vivifying it by the affirmation of the principle for which we are fighting. That Bill will be laid before you for your consideration. It will be for you to deal with it in your wisdom. However you may decide, of one thing I am certain, that you will maintain the character for moderation, sagacity, and practical good sense, which you have so arduously acquired by your self-sacrificing and noble labours during the five years of the existence of the Congress. (Applause.) It is not for me to anticipate your verdict. But I am sure you will allow me, out of my anxious solicitude for the triumph of the cause we have all so earnestly at heart, to state the reasons which to my mind make so imperatively for the acceptance of the new draft, in which I cannot but recognise the statesmanlike craft and thorough knowledge of the shifting phases of English politics, which Mr. Bradlaugh so eminently possesses, and which, as we all earnestly pray, promises to place him at no distant date in the front rank of politicians in office, as he already is in the front ranks of those not in office. (Hear, hear.) The old draft, admirably devised in some respects, with many virtues, and a few faults, has not proved congenial to the English political mind, averse to any new departures, and looking askance at theoretical airs of perfection. The new Bill has on the other hand all the element of success in its favour. (Hear, hear.) Its most striking merit is that it gathers round it the cautious, the carefully weighed, and responsible opinions of some of the best Viceroys we have ever had. (Hear, hear.) Lord Northbrook has pronounced in favour of a properly safeguarded application of some mode of election. (Hear, hear.) The righteous sympathies of the Marquis of Ripon—(loud applause)—are as warmly with us as ever, and his great authority weighs on the same side.

MR. GLADSTONE'S COMMENDATION.

This weighty consensus of the best viceregal opinion, which I have placed before you, in favour of the principle of the new draft, we may expect to be backed up by the potent voice of that Grand Old Man—(cheers)—whom we reverence, not only as the greatest Parliamentary leader of modern times, but as the individual embodiment of the highest conception of moral and political duty which English statesmanship has reached in the nineteenth century. (Loud applause.) You are aware that Mr. Bradlaugh has recently declared that he was authorised to say that the course pursued by him in reference to the Government Bill, in endeavouring to obtain a recognition of the elective principle, was approved by Mr. Gladstone, who intended to have supported him by speech. It would require considerations of overpowering force indeed to persuade us to any course by which we might run the risk of losing such an almost certain pledge of ultimate victory.

SIR JOHN GORST AND PROVIDENCE.

To the many reasons which have been set forth in Congress after Congress, proving the imperative need of reformed Councils, another has been now added. The discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons was always more or less of a sham; but it was a sham for which the officials of the India Office thought it at least a matter of decency to shed a tear of remorse. But now Sir John Gorst has boldly and candidly declared in his place in the House, that there need be no sham regret at all; that if anything it was rather to be hoped and wished for, that the House of Commons should not waste its time over the weary farce. It is now officially declared that it is right and proper that Parliament should—to use Mr. Yule's happy way of putting it—throw "the great and solemn trust on an inscrutable Providence" into the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best, with such grace as Providence may choose to pour on the heads of Sir John Gorst, his heirs, successors, and assigns. I think you will agree with me, that when the responsible advisers of the Crown on Indian matters propound doctrines of such a character, it is high time that we should raise our united voices to demand Local Councils possessing some guarantees for energy and efficiency ("Yes! Yes!").

ONE OF THE GLORIES OF THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT.

It has been said that our united voice is the voice only of a certain portion of the people, and not of the ("No! No!"), and that it is even then the voice of indifference, and not of urgency and excitement. These remarks are intended to be cast as matters of reproach against the Congress; properly understood, they constitute its chief glory. (Hear, hear.) If the masses were capable of giving articulate expression to definite political demands, then the time would arrive not for consultative Councils, but for representative institutions. It is because they are still unable to do so, that the function and the duty devolve upon their educated and enlightened compatriots to feel, to understand, and to interpret their wants and requirements, and to suggest and indicate what would best redress and remedy them. History teaches us that such has been the law of widening progress in all ages and all countries, notably in England itself. That function and that duty, which thus devolve upon us, is best discharged, not in times of alarm and uneasyness, of anger and excitement, but when the heart is loyal and clear, and reason unclouded. (Hear, hear.) It is, I repeat, the glory of the Congress that the educated and enlightened people of the country seek to repay the debt of gratitude which they owe for the priceless boon of education, by pleading for timely and provident statesmanship. (Applause.) I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call. ("Yes! Yes!") I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English culture and English civilisation. (Hear, hear.)

CONCLUSION.

Our duty lies clear before us to go on with our work firmly and fearlessly, but with moderation, and above all, with humility. If we might be permitted to adapt those noble words of Cardinal Newman we may say:

Lead kindly light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on!
The night is dark and I am far from home,
Lead thou me on.
Keep thou my feet, I do not ask to see
The distant path, one step enough for me.

The applause at the close of the Chairman's address was loud and long drawn, and did not cease until some time after he had resumed his seat.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.—Resolved: That this Congress, having considered

the draft Bill recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, entitled "an Act to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861," approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the Administration of India, for which it has been agitating, and humbly prays the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law; and further that its President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, is hereby empowered to draw up and sign on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect, and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation thereto, in due course.

Resolution II.—Resolved: That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

(a) The urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;

(b) The expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;

(c) The necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries;

(d) The necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(e) The highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;

(f) The expediency of both establishing Military Colleges in India whereat the Natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering, for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis;

(g) The extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount;

(h) The extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country;

(i) The necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country;

(j) The necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India;

(k) The expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

Resolution III.—Resolved: That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the chair for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and further authorizes its President to sign a Petition, in the name and on behalf of this Congress, for presentation to the House of Commons, in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

Resolution IV.—Resolved: That, while recognising the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889–90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on *all* Provincial administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in paras. 103, 104, and 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, especially as to subsection 4 of para 103, viz.:—

"That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained."

Resolution V.—Resolved: That the condition of the Finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council.

Resolution VI.—Resolved: That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were re-affirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily settled tracts in which certain conditions were fulfilled, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country those conditions have long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up the question of Permanent Settlement, without further delay, in view to practical action thereon such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand as explicitly promised, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, more than a quarter of a century ago.

Resolution VII.—Resolved: That this Congress, having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers, which runs as follows:—

THE CONGRESS.

"The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavilion have been sent to various Government officers residing in Calcutta, has issued a circular to all Secretaries and heads of departments subordinate to it, pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government officials, even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited."

and having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of which the following is an exact copy:—

"Belvedere, *26th December*, 1890.

"Dear Sir,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings.

"To
"J. Ghosal, Esq.,
"*Secretary, Congress Reception Committee.*"

"Yours faithfully
"P. C. LYON,
"*Private Secretary.*"

authorises and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress even as spectators, and to inquire, most respectfully, whether His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has not, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.

Resolution VIII.—Resolved: That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Maclaren, M.P., Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardley Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

Resolution IX.—Resolved: That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and Brothers, Proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens, Mr. N. C. Bose, and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, Proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa, and to the Honourable Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra, Mr. T. N. Palit, Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose, and Jamadar Ghasi Ram, owners of houses kindly lent for the use of delegates.

Resolution X.—Resolved: That the Seventh Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1891, at either Madras or Nagpore, as may be hereafter settled, in consultation between the Madras, Central Provinces and Berar Committees, and the Joint General Secretary.

Resolution XI.—Resolved: That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress, of not less than 100 delegates, in England, all things being convenient, in 1892, and that the several standing Congress Committees be directed to report, at the coming Congress, the names of the delegates that it is proposed to depute from their respective circles.

Resolution XII.—Resolved: That of the Funds now in the Joint General Secretary's hands, and about to be received, a further sum of twenty thousand rupees be added to the Permanent Fund and placed on fixed deposit, and that the rest of the funds accruing on account of this current year, 1890, be held by him available for the immediate purposes of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, but to be replaced as the subscriptions for 1891 are received, and, ultimately, also added to the Permanent Fund.

Resolution XIII.—Resolved: That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's Office and Establishment, and that the several circles and districts do contribute as arranged in Committee.

Resolution XIV.—Resolved: That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajodhia Nath are re-elected General and Joint-General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

Resolution XV.—Resolved: That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mano Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, D. A. Khare, and such other gentlemen as may volunteer for the duty, with the sanction and approval of the Standing Congress Committees of their respective circles, to represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND INDIA.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED BY THE "HANSARD" STAFF FOR "INDIA".]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—January 23.

INDIA COUNCILS ACT.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst): I beg to give notice that on Monday next I shall move for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the India Councils Act of 1861.

YIELD OF CROPS IN INDIA.

Mr. KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether a reply has been received from the Government of India to the suggestions made to them by the Secretary of State for India that a table showing the average yield of the principal crops in the various districts should be prepared.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst): No, sir; no reply has yet been received.

January 26.

INDIA COUNCILS ACT (1861) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson), for the Under Secretary of State for India (Sir J. Gorst), obtained leave to bring in a Bill to amend "the Indian Councils Act, 1861."

The Bill was subsequently brought in and read a first time. The second reading was fixed for Monday next.

January 27.

THE OPIUM REVENUE IN INDIA.

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire): I beg to give notice that on an early day I propose to call attention to the system of issuing Government licenses for farming out the retail sale of opium and other narcotic drugs as a means of obtaining revenue in British India, including Burma, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, British Borneo, and Shanghai, and will move a resolution.

January 29.

THE DUM DUM MURDER CASE.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he proposes to take any and what steps in connection with the Dum Dum murder case, in which the murder of a native having been proved by the clearest evidence against a party of English soldiers, and one of them having been found guilty and sentenced by Mr. Justice Norris, the case was subsequently brought under review and the sentence quashed on the plea of a mere technicality; and, whether it is the fact, as stated by Mr. W. S. Caine in a recent letter from India, that in the interval the regiment to which the said soldiers belonged became mutinous and threatened extreme measures if their comrades were punished for "shooting a nigger"?

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I beg also to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether any information has yet been received of any steps taken by the Military authorities in regard to the state of indiscipline in one of her Majesty's regiments disclosed in the case in which a party of soldiers at Dum Dum broke out of barracks with their rifles, committed various outrages, fired many shots, killed a native, and came home in the morning in a cart, but in which the regimental authorities failed to identify any of the offenders, and the crimes committed have in consequence remained entirely unpunished.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The Secretary of State does not propose to take any steps in relation to the Dum Dum murder case. He has no authority to revise or interfere with the decision of the highest judicial tribunal in Bengal. The statement of Mr. Caine is not correctly quoted in the question, but the Secretary of State has no information which corroborates the statement either as made or as suggested. In reply to the question of the hon. member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell) I have to say that the military authorities made a careful inquiry into the alleged disorders, and have taken such steps as they trust will prevent their recurrence.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): Is it true that the sentence was quashed upon a mere technicality?

Sir J. GORST: I have no information upon that matter at all, but from what I have read of the case I find that Justice Norris, who tried the case originally, was a member of the Court of Appeal, and that he concurred with the judgment of the Court which quashed the conviction on the ground that the evidence was not sufficiently satisfactory to proceed upon.

THE BOMBAY SALT ACT.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been drawn to two recent convictions under the new Bombay Salt Act, in one of which a native woman who was convicted of the charge of manufacturing salt, and punished with a fine of ten rupees or eight days' imprisonment, had done no more than boil down some salt on which her little child had accidentally upset some water; and in the other of which a native woman, who bought some dirty salt and refined it, was fined fifteen rupees with an alternative of ten days' imprisonment; whether it was proved at the trial that neither of these criminals knew anything about the new Act; How long has the new Act been in force, and what steps have been taken to bring its provisions to the notice of the native population; whether any definition of the manufacture of salt is contained in the Act which would convey to the native mind that such offences as the above are punishable with fine and imprisonment; by what court, and how constituted, were these sentences imposed; and, if he proposes to take any steps with regard to these cases.

Sir J. GORST: In answering paragraphs one and two of the hon. member's question, I have to say that records of judicial proceedings are not furnished officially to the Secretary of State, and the reports he has seen of the two cases referred to answer these two questions fully. The new Act has been in force since June, 1890, but the manufacture of salt has been prohibited in Bombay for many years. The Act was published in the usual way in the vernacular language of the Presidency. A reference to the Act will show that the definition of the manufacture of salt. The provisions relating thereto are such as to make it clear to natives that offences of the kind are punishable with fine and imprisonment. The sentence of the native magistrate who imposed the fines in the first instance was, as I understand, referred to the high court by Mr. Woodward, district magistrate of Kanera, for revision. The high court reduced one fine from fifteen rupees to eight annas or one day's imprisonment, and the other from ten rupees to one anna or one hour's imprisonment. This revision of the original sentences seems satisfactory, and the Secretary of State sees no reason to interfere.

OPIUM TRAFFIC IN INDIA.

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he will have printed and laid upon the table the papers referred to in the following extract from the Report of the Excise Department of Lower Burma for 1886-87, para. 6, page 4:—"There was some discussion during the year concerning the principles which should regulate the opium and excise administration. The opinions of selected district officers were obtained, and, towards the close of the year 1886, Sir Charles Bernard submitted to the Government of India a comprehensive report, with his recommendations for dealing with the several questions involved."

Sir J. GORST: The precise papers described in the hon. member's question are not in the possession of the Secretary of State, and there-fore cannot be laid on the table. I shall be happy to show the hon. member a full report on the subject sent to the Secretary of State by the Chief Commissioner of Upper Burma, and the report of the Secretary of State thereon will be laid on the table if the hon. member likes to move for it.

Mr. MARK STEWART: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the attention of the Indian Government has been called to the following passage contained in the Report of the Excise Department in Burma for 1889-90, para. 6, page 7 (being an extract from the report of the Commissioner of Irrawaddy), and whether any action has been taken with a view of repressing the illegal practices therein referred to:—"Opium legally bought from the Government is illegally sold at a high profit, sent from one district to another, and into the interior, to be retailed in towns and villages by men well known to opium-smokers, and who are, or ought to be, known to the local authorities."

Sir J. GORST: The Secretary of State has seen the passage in question. The Burma authorities are striving to repress illegal traffic in opium. Preventive establishments have recently been strengthened, and the Chief Commissioner has been asked if further establishments are needed. The law on the matter is clear and stringent. It is being and will be enforced as far as possible. The hon. member has omitted the following words from the passage quoted: "Illicit importation of opium is far less common than it was some years ago."

January 30.

THREATENED FAMINE IN INDIA.

Mr. HUNTER (Aberdeen): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he has any information that the districts of Chingleput, Nellore, Cuddapah, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tinnevelly, and Malabar, in Madras, with a population of about twelve millions, are threatened with famine; and, if so, in view of the fact that, with the exception of Malabar, all these districts were famine-stricken in 1876 and 1877, some most severely, whether he will state what steps have been taken in the meantime to protect them from famine, and what results, if any, have followed from the taking of such steps:

Whether the primary cause of the threatening distress is the failure of the November rains:

Whether irrigated as well as unirrigated lands are threatened with crop failures.

Whether the Madras Government have taken any, and if so what, steps to carry out the declared intentions of the Government of India "that human life shall be saved at any cost and at any effort; no man, woman, or child shall die of starvation:"

And, whether he will lay upon the Table all the particulars received by the Secretary of State respecting the impending distress, and also details as to the crop out-turns in the districts named in the years 1888, 1889, and 1890.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The latest reports that have reached the Secretary of State are dated, "Madras, January 6." A failure of the late crops was then feared in parts of the seven districts named. No fear of famine was expressed, and the prices of grains consumed by the poor were said to be well below scarcity level. Plans for opening relief works and for dispensing other relief are ready if necessity arises. In reply to the second paragraph of the question, I may say that the practical failure of the harvest has been due to the scantiness of the late rains or monsoons. Irrigated crops have also suffered in parts though not so seriously as the dry crops. In reply to the fourth and fifth paragraphs of the question, my answer is that the Secretary of State has asked for fortnightly telegrams from Madras stating the condition of affairs, and the steps taken to relieve distress if it arises. These telegrams will be published. The Government has also been asked to furnish a statement of the general out-turn of crops in the threatened districts for the year named.

February 2.

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT (1861) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.

Postponed until Thursday.

Mr. BRYCE: As great interest is taken in this Bill, and it is desired to have a proper debate on it, might I ask the Government if they would put it down as a first order for some night, and to let us know when it will come on?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I will consider the hon. member's recommendation, and see how far it is possible to meet it.

EAST INDIA: SCARCITY IN KUMAON AND GARWHAL.

On the motion of Mr. HOWORTH (Salford, S.), an Address was ordered for copies of, or extracts from, correspondence relating to the scarcity which prevailed in the Kumaon and Garwhal districts of the North-Western Provinces in 1890.

February 3.

EAST INDIA (FACTORIES).

On the motion of Sir W. HOULDSWORTH (Manchester, N.W.), an address was ordered for a copy of a report of the recent Commission on Indian Factories.

COLONELS' ALLOWANCES IN INDIA.

Mr. KING (Hull Central): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether, in view of the continued loss which is being inflicted on Colonels in receipt of Colonels' allowances who have elected to reside in India, by paying them their allowances on retirement, of £1,124 5s. per annum, in rupees at the rate of 2s. 0½d. per rupee, whereas the current rate of exchange has for some years ranged below 2s., and lately below 1s. 6d., while, at the same time, all Colonels similarly situated who reside in any other parts of the world are permitted to draw the full amount of £1,124 5s. in England in sterling, the Secretary of State will reconsider previous rulings on the subject, and take steps to remedy the grievance; and whether the loss now amounts practically to a fine of about 5,000 rupees per annum on a retired officer for electing to reside in India.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The Secretary of State in Council has recently decided that an officer, entitled to draw "Colonel's allowances" together with English pay, may, wheresoever he resides, draw the amount of £660 12s. 5d. together with his English pay from the Home Treasury in London either personally or by agent.

INDIAN COUNCILS (No. 2) BILL.

Mr. WALTER M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whether he will undertake that the Indian Councils' (No. 2) Bill shall be taken as a first order of the day, after due notice, when it is discussed; and, if he can state when it will come on?

The FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith Strand): I am sure the hon. gentleman will see that I am not in a position at present to possess the information which would enable me to answer the question.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen S.): Can the right hon. gentleman say whether he will undertake to bring it on as the first order, and that he will give some substantial notice as to when it may be expected to come on?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I can only say that in the conduct of public business it is very difficult to say when any particular measure may be expected to be brought on.

FISCAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE COLONIES.

Mr. J. LOWTHER (Kent, Isle of Thanet): I beg to give notice that on an early day I shall call attention to the expressed determination of the colonies to secure reciprocal relations with the United Kingdom, based on preferential basis, and will move "that in the opinion of this House it is essential that immediate steps be taken to promote the establishment of preferential fiscal arrangements between the United Kingdom and the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Crown."

THE MAGAZINE RIFLE AND ITS USE IN INDIA.

On a motion introduced last night by Mr. MARJORIBANKS, asking for an inquiry as to the new magazine rifle,

Mr. HANBURY, member for Preston, in the course of the discussion called attention to the use of the weapon in India as well as in our Colonies. Let us see, he said, what has been done in regard to the matter elsewhere. We should like to know what the Indian Government has to say on the question of this new rifle. We ought to have the opinion of that Government as an independent authority, because I think it would be a valuable thing for us to know what it has to say on the subject. I find that the Victorian Government, as is stated in the *Melbourne Argus*, gave an order for 5,000 of these rifles, and that suddenly the order was countermanded. We should like to see the correspondence between the War Office and the Governments of Victoria and India on this subject. We want to get hold of the papers in this case, and to know what the Government of India, as well as our Colonies, have to say in regard to this matter. We shall never get full information on this and similar subjects until the House and the country are treated with a little less reserve by the Government. (Cheers.) If the War Office would only take the country into its confidence, we should hear a good deal more about this rifle than we know at present, and for my part I think a good deal may be said on the side of the new weapon. We have not heard what are the tests that have been applied to it by the Colonial and Indian Governments, nor have we been informed what they have to say on the subject.

Mr. STANHOPE (Secretary of State for War), in reply, said: I have been asked whether any orders have been received from the Indian Government. I am glad to say that orders have been received from the Government for magazine rifles for the purpose of arming our troops in that Empire. A certain number have been supplied to the Indian Government, and next year there will be a very large further supply of the weapons sent to India. So far as I know the tests of the rifles which have been conducted in India have been uniformly successful, and the Government have accordingly continued to manufacture the new weapon. I fully admit that there have been difficulties with regard to the supply of ammunition for the new weapon in India, because if we are going to use smokeless powder, it is important to know whether such powder is suitable for India. But her Majesty's Government do not know whether they can provide ammunition which is perfectly suitable for that country, and until the adoption of smokeless powder has been definitely decided upon, black powder ammunition will be issued for use in India.

The discussion proceeded on other points.

February 6.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS' BILL.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen S.): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when the Government proposes to take the second reading of the Indian Councils' Bill?

The FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith, Strand): In the present state of public business I can enter into no undertaking in regard to the Indian Councils' Bill.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Sir R. LETHBRIDGE (Kensington N.): I beg to give notice that on this day four weeks I will move: "That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that an opportunity for the free discussion of Indian affairs should be afforded at least once in every Session, as was always the case until February 28th, 1888, and that consequently Standing Order No. 1 should be amended by inserting after the words 'ways and means' the words 'and the Indian Financial statement.'"

CEYLON MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS AND INDIAN NAVAL HEADQUARTERS.

Sir R. LETHBRIDGE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any decision has yet been arrived at as to the exemption of the Island of Ceylon from military contribution, especially in regard to the provision for the military defence of Trincomalee, the headquarters of the Imperial Navy in Indian waters?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): In answer to the question of my hon. friend I have to say that Her Majesty's Government have not entertained any proposal for the exemption of the Island of Ceylon from military contribution. There is no reason why that colony should not pay its fair share for the provision of military defence. In a very short time the decision of Her Majesty's Government will be officially announced, together with the grounds on which it is based.

Sir R. LETHBRIDGE: May I ask whether Her Majesty's Government have given any consideration to the fact, which is an undoubted one, that Trincomalee is the headquarters of the Imperial navy, and that that is a matter for which the Island of Ceylon is in no way actually responsible?

Baron H. de WORMS: Yes, sir, the fullest consideration has been given to the question by Her Majesty's Government, but they are scarcely prepared to admit that Trincomalee is the headquarters of the Imperial navy in Indian waters. On the contrary, I should say that Bombay probably represents the headquarters. At all events Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the question. I may add that the Secretary of State has received an important deputation on the subject, and after due consideration arrived at the decision which has been communicated to the Government of Ceylon.

CORRESPONDENCE.

UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF ENGLISH AND INDIAN SERVANTS OF THE CROWN.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—As you have kindly said that the columns of India are open to the discussion of all grievances affecting Indian people, I beg to invite your attention to the following few lines:—

The Select Parliamentary Committee for considering the grievances of the Indian Uncovenanted Civil Servants recommended that in the matter of leave and furlough the British and Indian subjects of Her Majesty should be treated alike. This recommendation, I think, was plain enough. Now, I beg you, Mr. Bradlaugh, and other friends of the Indians, to consider how the *spirit* of the above recommendation has been carried out by the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

The *Government Gazette of India* recently published a resolution to the following effect: "The Secretary of State for India has suggested, and the Government of India have accepted, the following change in the leave and pension rules: 'One year's leave with allowances within fifteen years' service and two years' leave with allowances within twenty-five years' service will count towards pension, provided the leave is taken out of India.'"

Now, I appeal to you to decide whether the above rule is not in flagrant violation of the *spirit* of the committee's recommendation. The *letter* of the recommendation is not departed from, because if the Indians take leave out of India their leave would count towards pension. But what would be the practical effect of this rule? It will simply benefit the European members of the service and not the Indians. What is the object of the rule except benefiting the Europeans? Its object cannot be to encourage the Indians to go to England, because if a native of India takes furlough for two years and spends it in Ceylon or Australia it will count towards pension. What can the Indian Government gain if a native of India passes the period of his leave in Ceylon instead of in India? The rule is evidently made with the object that the people of India should not take any leave. The average length of life of an Indian is much smaller than that of a European, and the former is constitutionally weaker than the latter. If, therefore, the Government had been inclined to be just it would have encouraged Indians to take leave after reasonable intervals, and recoup their health

and strength. This would have benefited not only the Indians, but the public service also. Everyone wishes to complete his service for pension as soon as possible, and nobody likes to take leave, as his doing so would defer the time of his retirement on pension.

The British Government is, on the whole, just and impartial, but many of its doings still savour of partiality towards Europeans. It is also thought by some Indians that the so-called political considerations have a great weight with the Government. It is said to be the object of Government to make and keep the people of India weak. It is admitted on all hands that the early marriages tend to make the people weak, and the persistent and unreasoning refusal of the Government of India to initiate any legislation is considered to be owing to the wish of the supreme Government to do nothing which is likely to make the future Indian generations strong. It is said to be a high political wisdom to encourage the people of India to follow their pernicious customs, because they tend to keep the race weak. The present action of Government in making the new rule virtually applicable to Europeans has the same tendency. The large majorities of the uncovenanted servants of Government are Indians. They do not take leave because the leave does not count towards pensions. Continuous hard work is likely to make them weak, and in the majority of cases they do not even live to take their pensions. So the high political wisdom of the Indian Government has led them to help only the Europeans and not the Indians. Indians die by continuous hard work, and their pension is saved to Government, and this saving enables them to keep intact the high salaries attached to posts held by Europeans.

Whatever might be the motives of Government the unequal treatment referred to above has greatly pained the loyal Indian subjects of Her Majesty who belong to the uncovenanted service. I hope Mr. Bradlaugh or some other disinterested friend of the natives will take up the subject, and induce Lord Cross to modify his orders.

I have no time to correct and recast the above effusion. I hasten to send this to you before the Indian Government is able to invent a law by which the new postage rates to Europe will be made applicable to those letters only which are written by white hands.

A READER.

Calcutta.
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October 12, 1890.

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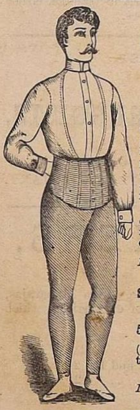

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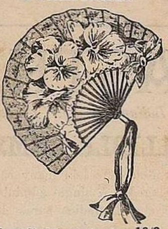

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